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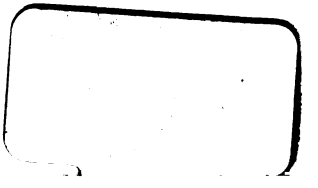

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Chas. P. Daly

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THE ORATIONS AND EPISTLES OF ISOCRATES.

Tranſlated from the GREEK

By Mr. JOSHUA DINSDALE.

And Reviſed by the Rev. Mr. YOUNG.

Ecce tibi ISOCRATES! *è cujus ludo tanquam ex equo Trojano innumeri principes exierunt.*

CIC. de Oratore.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

I First entertained the thought of tranſlating this author's remains, becauſe I believed his writings the propereſt of any orator's for the inſtruction of youth. There is a candour, lenity, and magnanimity every-where viſible in his orations which are left us. He inculcates virtue in the ſimpleſt and ſublimeſt manner, by the cleareſt precepts, and nobleſt examples. In fine, the orator and philoſopher ſeem to rival each other in his works. Patriotiſm and philanthropy ſhine in their brighteſt blaze; and if it was poſſible, by exhortation, to recover a depraved, ſinking people from ruin to virtue and courage, his magnanimous, moral eloquence would have done it; but to effect ſuch a wonderful change, a generous-minded king, or an united people, muſt, with a noble ardor, ſtir up all to the purſuit of what is laudable. The body politic alone can preſerve alive languiſhing popular virtue: all muſt awaken from the lethargy

of avarice and voluptuousneſs to recover a country's happineſs and glory. In a word, there muſt be a national inſpiration of the love of virtue and all true learning. However, our author has aimed nobly, as a private perſon, to attain the glorious end. What a diſtinguiſhed love of his country, and the intereſts of virtue, is there throughout his works! To praiſe him as I ought, I muſt repeat all their beauties: he is his own beſt painter.

ALL will agree who think rationally, that eloquence ſhould be founded on ſolid reaſons, and inflamed with a noble zeal for virtue. Theſe qualities ſeem to have been the claim of few popular ſpeakers. Perhaps there is a more evident love of virtue and philoſophy in this author, than either Demoſthenes or Cicero. His courage, tho' calm and ſedate, ſeems more reſolute; and he certainly effected more in a retired way, by his exhortations to Philip of Macedon, towards the deſtruction of the Perſian tyranny, than all the Athenian harangues, who were all, in a degree, ſubject to bribery. Read his writings, and you perceive with what flame of ſoul he excites his countrymen to oppoſe the Barbarians; how he endeavours to rekindle their ardor for glory, and not only make them emulate their neighbours virtues, but

ſurpaſs

ſurpaſs them! You will ſee him exhort them to union; rouſe them up to aſſiſt their friends; to ſtudy the arts of war as well as peace; to call forth all their natural excellence, remember their anceſtors power and glory, and not be a diſgrace to ſuch a glorious inheritance; but render the name of Greece as much feared and reſpected as it formerly was, after the defeat of all the Perſian forces. This, he tells them, nothing but heroic virtue can effect. You muſt, ſays he, be public-ſpirited, lovers of true glory, of generoſity to your fellow-citizens, of magnificence, of hoſpitality, and poſſeſs all the virtues of your anceſtors, who have purchaſed immortal glory in all hiſtories. Self-intereſtedneſs or cowardice, never gained true glory, or enjoyed any long time reputation and liberty. It is not due but to heroic philanthropy: ſuch was that of Codrus, of Miltiades, of Leonidas, of Themiſtocles, of Conon, and all the heroes of antiquity.

As for his ſtile, all is ſmooth, all harmonious in Iſocrates; there are no harſh eliſions, or meeting of rough conſonants, and he ſtudies muſic and ſweetneſs ſo much, that there ſometimes ſeems a kind of langour in his periods, repreſenting the converſation of tender lovers.

As for the translation, let the reader accept this apology, that I neither designed it too literal or paraphrastical. A translation should be animated, which it cannot be without freedom: you otherwise have but the dead spirit of an author: especially if a classic. What a pitiful appearance does Virgil or Horace make in flat, unfigurative prose? And the same may be said, if I mistake not, of all too close translations. A literal translation is all that is expected from a raw, unexperienced school-boy; but is that the true sense of a polite author? So far from it, that it is a mere travestie. I therefore have endeavoured to observe a medium; but the reader, who has sufficient experience of the Greek, must decide of the performance.

Let me subjoin the character of our orator, drawn by Cicero and Dionysius Halicarnasseus, and I shall conclude this preface.

CICERO in BRUTO.

"After these appeared Isocrates, whose "house was, as it were, the public school of "all Greece, and the seat of eloquence. He "was a great orator, and perfect teacher, tho' "he sought not the glory of the bar, but gain-

"ed

" ed that fame within his own houſe, which,
" in my opinion, none of thoſe who followed
" him, could arrive at. He compoſed many
" noble orations, and both excelled the anci-
" ents in other reſpects, and in this particu-
" larly, that he firſt remarked, that even in
" proſe, (tho' verſification ſhould be avoided)
" there ſhould be obſerved numbers and har-
" mony. If this happened in the writings of
" any before him, it happened by chance, and
" not by art, deſign, or regular method."

DIONYSII HALICARNASSEI judicium de ISOCRATE.

" ISOCRATES deſerves diſtinguiſhed praiſe
" for his noble orations, and particularly for
" the grandeur, beauty, and ſublimity of the
" ſubjects. They are not only capable of im-
" proving others in eloquence, but of quali-
" fying them, by the moſt virtuous precepts,
" to govern well a private family, or a king-
" dom. I repeat it, the moſt virtuous rules of
" life are found in Iſocrates; and, in my opi-
" nion, if any would embrace that true philo-
" ſophy, which conſiſts not in ſpeculation
" only, but in ſuitable actions; nor confines
" felicity to itſelf, I would counſel ſuch a one,
" never

"never to omit a day without ſtudying this "philoſophic orator."

As for the particulars of his life, they are but few and common, as is uſual in reſpect of men of literature; excluſive of this, that he was more intimate with all the great men of his time, than, perhaps, any other learned man or philoſopher, and enjoyed the pleaſure of glory, ſtudy, and books, to an extreme old age.

I MUST now acknowledge the kind aſſiſtance I have had from a very learned, ingenious gentleman, in ſeveral difficult and obſcure parts of this author.

THE

THE FIRST ORATION OF ISOCRATES. TO DEMONICUS.

The SUBJECT.

THE design of this oration is to perſuade all noble youths to love and practiſe exalted virtues; that they may paſs their lives not only with ſatisfaction and pleaſure, but alſo with honour and glory: wherefore theſe delightful and uſeful precepts ought to be ſtudied by all youthful ingenuous minds, as the ſolid baſis of reputation and a happy life; for none can ever repent themſelves of ſuch an application. Eloquence and philoſophy, perhaps, were never more advantageouſly united than in this celebrated author's writings.

THE FIRST ORATION of ISOCRATES. TO DEMONICUS.

THERE is a great difference in the ſentiments of the good and bad, in regard to the œconomy of life; but in nothing more than in that which regards friendſhip. The bad ſhew kindneſs to their friends only when preſent; but the good love them, though abſent. A little time will put an end to the pretended friendſhips of the former; but the friendſhips of the latter continue and ſhine through life. I therefore, out of conviction that noble minds, which are deſirous of immortal glory, ought to imitate, not the examples of the bad, but the patterns of heroic virtue, ſend you this eſſay, as a proof of my friendſhip, and, at the ſame time, of my gratitude, to Hipponicus, your generous father; for heirs have a right not only to their fathers eſtates,

but to their friendſhips *. Fortune, and the circumſtance of time, favour my intention; for you admire learning, and I make profeſſion of inſtructing others: in a word, you ſtudy philoſophy, and I direct others in it. Thoſe who write the rules of eloquence, and exhort to induſtry, and the acquiſition of knowledge, do a noble action, yet reach not the perfection of philoſophy: but thoſe who inform youth, not of the methods only of attaining eloquence, and poliſhing their reaſon, but likewiſe of cultivating their manners, and acquiring real virtue, devote their labours to much more glorious purpoſes, in the ſame proportion as it is more excellent to be a good and wiſe man, than learned and eloquent. Wherefore, omitting perſuaſion, and only laying down the ſolid precepts of life, I deſign to ſhew you what youth ought to emulate and practiſe, and what to deſpiſe and avoid; what company they ought to chuſe, and how to direct the whole courſe of their lives: for they alone, who have been careful of obſerving ſuch rules from the firſt dawn of reaſon, have attained the higheſt point of human glory and virtue, which is a felicity above all other happineſs that mortals can aim at. A ſhort time deſtroys beauty, or ſickneſs withers it: riches are rather the inſtruments of vice, than the friends of virtue, as they give looſe reins to luxury, and precipitate youth into ſhameful pleaſures, and irretrievable diſhonour. Great ſtrength has, indeed, with prudence, benefited the poſſeſſors; but, without it, has often been their total ruin; has invigorated the body, but darkened and enſavaged the mind. It is virtue alone, which, if once not only rooted, but brought to perfection in the

* This is a noble philoſophic ſentiment, and worthy of our author. It ſhews, that children ought to emulate particularly their parents virtues, and defer to their judgment in the choice of their friends. Who Demonicus was, is not clearly known; but he muſt have been a perſon of great diſtinction.

mind,

mind, bears the fruit of glory in old age †. It is more profitable than riches, and more excellent than nobility; making what is impoſſible to others natural and eaſy to its poſſeſſors; filling them with generous, exalted ſentiments, and refining their minds to the laſt degree of excellence and glory. What alarms and terrifies others, it meets with intrepidity and courage, and judges cowardice and meanſpiritedneſs infamy and diſgrace; but labour and courage, immortal merit and reputation. An heroic example of this is the life of Hercules and Theſeus, the glory of whoſe actions have conſecrated them to eternal fame; for all future duration will not be able to obſcure the brightneſs of their magnanimity and virtues. But you, by reflecting only on your father's excellencies, have a noble pattern of my doctrine; for he had an exalted idea of virtue, and did not judge his nature unworthy of glory: he perfected his bodily qualities by temperance and exerciſe, and his mind by ſtudy and virtue: his courage was conſummate: he loved not riches immoderately; but, with a noble and generous œconomy, enjoyed his affluence as a mortal; but, with prudence, avoided profuſion, as if he was to be immortal. Nor did he live with ſuch parſimony as to betray an exceſſive love or admiration of riches; but was a lover, in his houſe, of ſplendor and magnificence, and bountiful to all his friends, but eſpecially thoſe of merit, who needed it moſt. He was not like ſome weak perſons, who yield to importunity, and neglect modeſt merit; and he valued thoſe who loved him, and imitated his virtues, rather than ſuch as were related to him by blood; for he judged, that nature ought to have a greater ſhare in our friendſhips than law; and that a ſimilitude of manners was a cloſer connection than that of blood; and choice, a ſtronger tie than that of nature. The whole time would be ſpent, did I enumerate all his virtues

† This encomium of virtue muſt be allowed juſt by every reaſonable man; for, if there be an excellency in human nature, it is evident, by the effects, that it is virtue.

and generous actions; but I ſhall more at large do juſtice to them upon another occaſion; and have only mentioned Hipponicus, as an incentive to you his ſon in the roll of heroic glory ‡: for you ought to eſteem your father's example, in good, the moſt obligatory law, and be fired with zeal to emulate his virtues. It is a ſhame, that painters ſhould expreſs the beauties of different creatures, and children not imitate their father's praiſe-worthy qualities. Believe me, it leſs becomes the Athletes to endeavour to equal their antagoniſts, than it does a ſon to endeavour not to fall ſhort of his father's glory; but this is impoſſible, if youth is not improved by all the noble inſtructions of philoſophy, as well as example. The body, indeed, is rendered nervous by labour and exerciſe; but the ſoul by reaſon and good precepts: wherefore it is my deſign to lay down an abridgement of ſuch inſtructions, or general rules, whereby you may acquire the reputation of virtue, and be rendered glorious to poſterity.

In the firſt place, ſhew your gratitude to heaven, not only by ſacrifices, but a ſteady veracity, and ſacred obſervance of all leagues and oaths. The firſt ſhews, indeed, ſplendor and gratitude; but the latter only a truly noble, god-like mind. Worſhip God ſincerely always in your heart, and publicly with your country; for, by doing ſo, you will have the reputation of a religious man, and a lover of your native laws. Be ſuch towards your parents, as you would hope your children ſhould be towards you. Uſe exerciſe rather for health, than ſtrength, or beauty. You will beſt attain this, if you leave it off before nature is fatigued. Love not immoderate laughter, nor bold, injurious language: the one is fooliſh, and the other has a ſymptom of madneſs. Think it a diſgrace to mention what is immodeſt in the action. Be not auſtere and gloomy, but ſerene

‡ A young perſon, who is inſenſible to this reaſoning, muſt have a corrupt, low-minded diſpoſition.

and

and grave: by the firſt behaviour you would be thought proud; but, by the latter, will be eſteemed a man of worth and credit. Believe decency of dreſs, modeſty, juſtice, and temperance, the true ornaments of mankind; for in theſe virtues conſiſts the true nobility of human nature *. Never imagine you can conceal a bad action; for, though you hide it from others, your own conſcience will condemn you. Be good, and have your own approbation. Fear GOD, honour your parents, reverence your friends, obey the laws, purſue virtuous pleaſures: virtuous pleaſure is the pureſt ſource of happineſs; and vicious pleaſure a gulf of infamy and diſgrace. Avoid public reproaches and ſuſpicions, though they be ill-grounded; for the generality of men know no criterion of truth, but are led by popular opinion. Be perſuaded that every baſe action will at laſt take air. You will gain the moſt laſting praiſe, if you are never known to do what you blame in others. What you have learned, preſerve freſh in your memory by meditation; and what you are ignorant of, acquaint yourſelf with by the ſtudy of arts and ſciences. It is the duty of every man to improve his knowledge, will, and underſtanding. It is as great a ſhame to hear rational, inſtructive diſcourſe, and not be attentive to it, as to reject with ſcorn a valuable gift. Employ your leiſure in good company and inſtruction; for, by this means, you will make familiar to you the noble and arduous inventions of others. Think philoſophy a greater treaſure than immenſe ſums of gold: for gold is apt to take wings, and fly away; but philoſophy and virtue are unalienable poſſeſſions. Wiſdom is the only immortal inheritance. Look upon it as no hardſhip to travel into a foreign country to learn what is conducive to heroic virtue;

* This is truly a Socratic doctrine, which Cicero has inſerted in his Offices. The great Athenian philoſopher looked upon man's conſcience, as it were a preſence-room of the Deity, where every man was forced to do himſelf juſtice for his concealed crimes.

for it is a disgrace to human nature to see merchants cross such vast seas in hope of gain, and young noblemen not bear land-travels for the bettering and perfecting their minds. Love easy, free conversation, and be affable to all. It is the duty of civility to speak kindly to visiters; and the duty of affability to offend no one in conversation. Make your manners and silence your greatest reproofs. Be, as I have said, candid and free to all; but familiar only with the sincere and good: for, by so doing, you will offend none, and have the choicest friends. Be not too frequently in the same company, nor speak frequently of the same things; for there is a satiety of all things. Use voluntary exercise, that, upon occasion, you may bear involuntary labour. Gain true learning, that you may not be shamefully imposed upon by pretenders to it. What you would think it a disgrace to be excelled in, make yourself betimes a master of. Be not overcome by infamous passions, avarice, anger, voluptuousness, melancholy, and despair. You will overcome covetousness, if you think equity and justice the noblest treasure. You will overcome anger, if you dispose yourself to be such towards those who commit faults, as you would desire others to be towards you in a like case. You will overcome base pleasures, by thinking it a disgrace to command your domestics, and, at the same time, be a slave to sensual appetites. You will overcome dispondency and despair, by considering the misfortunes of other men, and remembering that you yourself are but a man. When a secret is committed to you, keep it more religiously than you would gold and silver entrusted with you; for a good man's word should be more sacred than another's oath. Think it as much your duty to be distrustful of the bad, as to trust the good. Never reveal to any your secret, unless it should prove as beneficial to others to conceal it, as to yourself not to have it known. Swear, if required, upon two occasions; either to free yourself from an ignominious accusation, or save your friends from danger or injustice. For

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the ſake of your own money, never call GOD to witneſs your words, though you ſhould ſwear truly: ſome will elſe either imagine you foreſworn, or a ſlave to intereſt. Admit no one into your friendſhip, before you have inquired diligently how he has behaved to his former friends; for you may expect, that he will behave to you as he has to them. Contract friendſhip ſlowly; but once a friend, endeavour to be always ſo. The infamy is near the ſame to have no friend at all, and frequently to change your companions. Neither try your friends at your own hazard, nor be ignorant of their ſincerity: you will beſt effect this, if, when you are not in neceſſity, you pretend to be ſo. Truſt them with what is not, as if it was a ſecret of moment; for, though miſtaken in your notion of their probity, you will not be hurt: but, ſhould you not be deceived, you will the better know their manners. Judge of your friends in the misfortunes of your life, and their voluntary ſharing of danger: for we prove gold by fire; but we know beſt our real friends in diſtreſs and affliction. You will behave in the moſt generous manner towards your friends, if you do not wait for their prayers; but, by a ſpontaneous aſſiſtance, prevent their deſires in their neceſſities. Think it the ſame diſgrace to be exceeded by your friends in kind actions, as to be trampled upon by the injuſtice of your enemies. Eſteem thoſe friends that grieve not only for your adverſity, but do not envy you in your proſperity: for many mourn for their friends who are in affliction; but look not with an eaſy eye upon their happineſs or promotion. Speak honourably of your abſent to your preſent friends, that they may believe you will not ſet light by them in their abſence. Be elegant and genteel in your dreſs, but not tawdry and whimſical. Value not yourſelf upon the greatneſs of your riches, but the rational uſe of them. Deſpiſe thoſe who endeavour to heap up wealth, but are not qualified to enjoy it: they act much the ſame as that perſon would do, who ſhould purchaſe a fine horſe, though he knew not how to

ride

ride him. Make your eſtate a real good, as well as a poſſeſſion. Riches are of ſervice to thoſe who underſtand how to make a right uſe of them; but a mere poſſeſſion to thoſe, who have not ſouls adequate to the wiſe and juſt employment of them. Have a due value for the goods of fortune, on two accounts: the firſt, that you may be able to bear a great loſs, and aſſiſt a worthy unhappy friend. In all other reſpects, love not violently, but moderately, the poſſeſſion of riches. Be ſatisfied with the preſent; but have in view what is better. Never object to any one his misfortune; for chance is common, and futurity unknown. Act kindly by the good; for gratitude due from a good man is a noble treaſure. If you do good to the bad, you will act juſt as wiſely as if you fed other mens dogs; for they bark at their benefactors equally as at ſtrangers; and wicked men hurt their friends as readily as their enemies. Deteſt flatterers, as you would deceivers; for both of them, if once believed, will prejudice thoſe who put confidence in them. If you prefer ſuch friends as flatter your vices, you will not find ſuch as are willing, for your good, to incur your diſpleaſure. Be affable to thoſe you meet, and not grave or auſtere: for even ſlaves can hardly bear with ſupercilioufneſs and pride; but all men love ſweetneſs of manners and affability. You will be affable and polite, if you ſhun diſpute, are not moroſe, nor quarrelſome on ſlight occaſions, not haſtily oppoſing your friends in anger, though they ſhould happen to be unjuſtly ſo with you; but, while they are under the influence of paſſion, give way to them, and, when cooled, with reaſon reprehend them. Be not ſerious in jocoſe affairs, nor delight in rallery, when the buſineſs is of moment; for what is out of ſeaſon is never pleaſing. Do not loſe the grace of a kind action, which many perſons do, by aſſiſting their friends unwillingly. Be not ſubject to accuſe others; for it is odious: nor ſet yourſelf up as a cenſor; for it is apt to provoke men to anger. Above all things, avoid converſation over liquor; but if you happen

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to fall into ſuch company, ariſe before you are intoxicated: for when the underſtanding is diſordered by wine, it is like a chariot which has flung off its driver; for a chariot wanting a directing hand, is hurried without order; and the ſoul is full of error and deception, when the mind is darkened with ſtrong liquors. Aim at immortality by your heroic actions; but let your conduct be ſo prudent, that you never become forgetful of mortality. Judge learning in proportion more excellent than ignorance, as all other vices almoſt are attended with ſome gain; but ignorance is productive of nothing but detriment. Of thoſe you would make your friends, ſpeak frequently ſome good to ſuch as will tell them again: for praiſe is the beginning of friendſhip, as diſpraiſe is of enmity. If you conſult about an affair of importance, judge by the paſt of what may happen; for what is obſcure is beſt cleared up by what is manifeſt. Conſult leiſurely, but execute ſpeedily, your determinations. Believe the greateſt happineſs we can expect from GOD, to be good ſucceſs; but the higheſt we can from ourſelves, to be good counſel. If you are aſhamed to ſpeak openly about an affair, but think proper to know ſome friend's opinion, introduce your diſcourſe as about another's affair; by that means you will perceive his ſentiment, and will not diſcover yourſelf. When you deſign to aſk any one's advice, conſider how he has acted in his own behalf: for he who has judged indiſcreetly about what concerned himſelf, will never adviſe prudently about the affair of another. You will be the more excited to make conſultation, if you conſider diligently the miſchiefs of precipitation. For we have the juſteſt value of health, when we remember the pains that attend ſickneſs. Imitate the manners of kings, and follow their cuſtoms. By this means, you will ſeem to approve of, and emulate them; ſo that, by ſuch behaviour, you will be more venerable to the people, and be ſecure of the friendſhip of potentates. Obey the laws of kings; but think their own examples to be the ſtrongeſt law. For as a perſon who lives in a republic,

public, is obliged to humour the people, ſo he who lives under a monarchy, ought to admire and venerate the king. In a public poſt, uſe no vicious under-miniſter; for all will attribute to you his faults. Leave public employments not the richer, but the more glorious: for the love and praiſe of the public is preferable to accumulated riches. Neither aſſiſt or abet any bad action; for you will be thought to do the ſame things which you approve of in others. Acquire the power of acting freely; but always direct your actions by equity, to the end you may be thought to love juſtice, not out of weakneſs, but freedom and goodneſs. Chuſe rather honeſt poverty than diſhoneſt riches: for juſtice is far better than riches, as the latter only profits the poſſeſſor in life, but the firſt crowns the very dead with fame and glory. Riches may be the portion of the bad; but equity is the property of the good, and an impoſſible acquiſition to the vicious. Never emulate thoſe who gain by injuſtice; but rather admire thoſe who ſuffer prejudice for juſtice: for ſhould the good excel the bad in nothing elſe, they certainly have the better of them by good hope in futurity. Be careful of whatever may conduce to a happy life, but eſpecially improve the ſolidity of your underſtanding: for a good mind is the greateſt treaſure in a man's body. Endeavour to habituate yourſelf to labour; but let the exerciſe of your mind be wiſdom, that your body may be able to execute what you judge proper, and your underſtanding ſee what is profitable. Whatever you deſign to ſay, examine in your mind well firſt; for many perſons tongues run before their judgment. Think nothing conſtant in human life; for, by this means, you will not be too elate in proſperity, nor dejected in adverſity. Think there are two occaſions of ſpeaking, either about what you perfectly know, or about what is neceſſary you ſhould ſpeak of; for, in theſe two caſes alone, ſpeaking is better than ſilence: in others, it is more prudent to be ſilent than to ſpeak. Take a juſt pleaſure in proſperity, and grieve not immoderately in adverſity,

but

but do not ſo in either caſe openly to all: for it is abſurd to hide our ſubſtance in our houſes, and let our minds be viſible to ſtrangers. Avoid diſpraiſe more than danger: the end of life ought juſtly to be formidable to the bad; but infamy only ought to be ſo to the good. Above all, endeavour to live in ſecurity; but if you ſhould be obliged to run the hazard of war, ſeek life and ſafety with honour, but never with diſgrace. Providence has determined all ſhall die; but nature and equity allows none but the good and brave to do ſo with honour. Wonder not that many things I have ſaid, agree not with your preſent age: I am not ignorant they do not; I choſe by this treatiſe to give both proper advice at this time, and leave a rule for the time to come. You will eaſily now underſtand the utility of theſe precepts; but you will not always find a benevolent counſellor. Wherefore, that you might not ſtand in need of aſking the reſt from another, but find it in this eſſay, as in a ſtore-houſe, I thought I ought to omit nothing of thoſe things I have to adviſe you. I ſhould return heaven my ſincereſt thanks, if I am not deceived in the opinion I have of you. We ſtill find moſt men are not pleaſed with the beſt, but with the moſt luſcious things, and will rather chuſe thoſe friends who participate in their vices, than ſuch as give them good counſel. But I judge otherwiſe of you by this proof, that you have hitherto been diligent in all other learning: for it is natural, that he who has always commanded himſelf in what he knew to be good, ſhould liſten willingly to another's juſt exhortation. Above all, you will particularly ſtir up yourſelf to the emulation of virtue, if you perſuade yourſelf, that the pureſt pleaſures ſpring from it alone: for, by ſloth and luxury, ſorrow ſoon follows falſe pleaſure; but from labour to attain virtue, from temperance and regularity of life, flow the moſt ſenſible and laſting joys. In the firſt caſe, we have a tranſient pleaſure, but are afterwards pained: in the other, after induſtry comes ſolid ſatisfaction. And in all our actions we have not ſo

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The SUBJECT.

AS the former Oration laid down the moſt generous rules of private life, ſo this contains directions for a wiſe and happy government. Nothing can be imagined nobler than the deſign, nor any thing almoſt executed in a more maſterly manner. Here are the out-lines, if I may uſe the expreſſion, of that perfect example of a wiſe merciful government, which is juſtly admired in TELEMACHUS: *in fine, all the maxims of royal benevolence, and principles of univerſal philanthropy, are to be found here, as in a well-diſpoſed, exhauſtleſs magazine of the maxims, whereby to render flouriſhing and proſperous a whole kingdom. How happy would all nations be, did all kings know and practice theſe elevated ſentiments!*

THE ORATION of ISOCRATES TO NICOCLES: UPON THE WISE MANAGEMENT of a KINGDOM.

AS for thoſe, O Nicocles, who preſent kings with rich veſtments, ſilver, ingeniouſly wrought gold, or any thing of ſuch a nature, as they are indigent of themſelves, and you abound in; ſuch, I ſay, ſeem to me evidently to have lucre and not generoſity in view, and more artfully to gain their end, than thoſe who make profeſſion of traffick: but I judged this diſcourſe the nobleſt and moſt uſeful gift in my power, worthy of my profeſſion to offer, and you to receive, if I be but ſo happy as to define by the ſtudy of what actions, or avoiding of others, you may the moſt wiſely govern your city and kingdom. Private perſons have many opportunities of inſtruction; and a particular help towards it is, that they do not live luxuriouſly, but are obliged to daily induſtry for the ſupport of their families. They have likewiſe the reſtraint of the laws, by which they are governed: and ſtill a more ſingular advantage is, that all have the liberty of ſpeaking freely to them, and their friends may both correct them boldly,

and their enemies reproach them ſharply, for their vices. Add further, that ſeveral of the antienteſt poets have left accurate rules for the conduct of their lives: ſo that, by all theſe aſſiſtances, they may eaſily become better *. But kings enjoy no advantages of this nature; and though they, of all men, ſtand moſt in need of true wiſdom, becauſe they are in ſo high an elevation of power, yet they paſs often-times their lives without ever meeting with proper inſtructors. The greateſt part of mankind cannot approach them; and thoſe who do, frequently ſpeak with flattery. And tho' kings are maſters of the greateſt riches, and are poſſeſt of the greateſt power; yet, by the miſmanagement of theſe high prerogatives, they have been the cauſe that many have doubted, whether the private life of ſuch as live with prudence and moderation, is not preferable to the ſplendor and elevation of kings †. When, indeed, the generality of mankind conſider only the honours, riches, and power of monarchs, they are apt to think them demigods: but when they make reflection again upon the fears and dangers which attend regality, and looking back into hiſtory, find ſeveral monarchs to have been ſlain by thoſe who leaſt ſhould have done ſo, others driven to commit injuſtices againſt their moſt intimate friends, and ſome of them ſubjected to both theſe calamities, men are perſuaded, that any humble condition is rather eligible, than to be, upon theſe terms, the ſole

* This is too frequently verified; for where are to be found thoſe heroic, courageous perſons, who are the proper inſtructors of kings, who are adequate to their charge, and have that equity of mind as to ſcorn flattery, or the infuſing into the breaſts of potentates ungenerous, ſelf-intereſted, or tyrannous ſentiments? A man who makes, by his inſtruction, a king virtuous, may be ſaid to tincture a public ſpring with the power of health, wiſdom, and every beneficial quality.

† Here is a beautiful contraſt between the ſecurity of a private life and the danger of royalty: that tho' power and riches attend the latter, yet that happineſs, ſecurity, and peace, are the ſurer portion of competency and retirement from all public offices.

monarch

monarch of all Asia. The cause of this inconsistency and contradiction in sentiments, is, that many are apt to look upon a crown as the indolent possession of priesthood; tho' the duty of the first is the highest office of nature, and requires the greatest wisdom and foresight. It is the duty, indeed, of those who are always with you, to give you, in the detail of actions, proper counsels how you may maintain your state, preserve your splendor and riches, and avoid damage and misfortune; but it is my part to give you general advice, to point out what you ought constantly to have in view, and how to direct the tenor of your whole life. Whether my performance will answer my design, it is hard to judge in the beginning: for many poems, as well as prose-writings, while they were in the minds of the composers, have caused in all a great expectation; but, when finished, and exposed to others criticisms, procured the authors much less glory than they expected *. But yet the intention is certainly highly laudable, to cultivate that part of philosophy, which has been omitted by others, and lay down certain rules and principles for kings and governors. They who instruct private persons, benefit only them; but whoever inspires with the love of virtue those who have supreme power, greatly advantage both monarchs and their subjects; for such philosophers render kingdoms safer to the possessors, and their respective governments milder and more clement towards particulars †.

We must first consider what is the duty of a generous-minded king: for, if we once comprehend well the nature and full extent of the complex ideas of any thing, having our eye upon that criterion, we shall the better judge and

* It is certainly true, that philosophy, and the principles of a generous refined morality, is the most worthy study of the human kind.

† This is a just observation; for, by the neglect of this care, we see several persons continue, during life, in a disgraceful ignorance of their respective obligations.

reaſon of the eſſential parts. I think all agree, that it becomes a great and good ruler to put an end to a city's miſeries, to guard it in its proſperity, and make it happy and flouriſhing, if low and infirm. Whatever is occaſionally done, ought ever to be directed to this noble end. It is evident, that thoſe who are in this ſublime power, and have ſuch an important charge, ſhould not be indolent, but animated with a noble ambition of becoming wiſer and more diligent than others. Without this ardor, they degrade themſelves: for this truth is manifeſt by experience, that they will have juſt ſuch a conducted kingdom, as they manage the oeconomy of their own palace and minds. Wherefore no combatants ought to exerciſe with ſuch care their bodies, as kings ſhould endeavour to improve their minds. Not the greateſt public aſſemblies propoſe any ſuch glorious rewards, as thoſe which great kings contend for every day: and certainly then, you who are ſenſible of this truth, ought to do your utmoſt as far to excel others in virtues, as you do in honours and riches: nor ever imagine, that tho' diligence and care are of the higheſt conſequence in other reſpects, yet that they are uſeleſs towards rendering us better and wiſer. Deſpond not ſo of human nature, as to judge, that man, who has found out the method and art of taming, and rendering more profitable other creatures, can no-ways benefit himſelf towards the acquiſition of wiſdom and virtue. No, on the contrary, be perſuaded, that learning and vigilance can improve and elevate our minds to the higheſt perfection they are capable of by nature. Seek always the company of the moſt prudent, and invite them even from diſtant places: nor ſuffer yourſelf to be ignorant of either the writings of the moſt excellent poets, or of any who have made profeſſion of knowledge. Be acquainted thoroughly with the writings of the former, and a profeſſed diſciple of the wiſeſt of the latter. In fine, be a critic of the inferior claſs, and nobly emulate the higheſt; for, by theſe arduous exerciſes, you will ſooneſt become the perſon we ſuppoſe; ſuch an one, I ſay, as is moſt

moſt capable of reigning glorioufly, and making happpy a city, or a nation *. Such a one muſt have a ſoul, which glows with true glory. You will be ſtimulated to attain this glorious mark, if you think it a ſhame that bad men ſhould govern better, or the imprudent direct the wiſer: and the higher contempt you have of the ignorance and extravagancy of others, ſo much the more you will be excited to enlarge your own underſtanding. Such muſt be the principles of thoſe who aim at decorum and honour.

Beſides, you muſt be a lover of mankind, your city, and country; for it is impoſſible that any one ſhould take care even of horſes or dogs, and much leſs of men and public affairs, as they ought, if they take not a real pleaſure in them. Let the people be the object of your love, and have a mild government over them; perſuading yourſelf, from experience and hiſtory, that thoſe ariſtocracies, as well as commonwealths, have continued the longeſt, which conſulted moſt the intereſt and humour of the people. You will hold the reins of government in the prudenteſt manner, if you neither ſuffer the multitude to commit injuſtice, or be injured themſelves: but have always in view the promoting the moſt worthy to honours, and ſecuring the reſt from oppreſſion; for theſe principles are the foundations of a wiſe government. Change thoſe edicts and inſtitutes, which are not founded in equity; endeavour to be the inventor of the beſt and moſt political: if you cannot do this, imitate the beſt examples of other cities. Eſtabliſh ſuch laws as are entirely juſt, uſeful, and conſiſtent with themſelves, that admit of the leaſt chicanery, and facilitate the determination of all diſputes among the citizens; for good

* It was a noble axiom of an antient philoſopher, that the greateſt happineſs of mankind conſiſted in perceiving the tranſcendent beauty of virtue, and loving it always ſupereminently.

laws ſhould have all theſe qualities. Make buſineſs and trade profitable to them, and all law-ſuits and injuſtice prejudicial; that they may avoid the one, and love and cultivate the other †. Never give ſentences in judgment out of favour to any man, nor ever contradictory to one another: always judge in the ſame manner of the ſame things: you will do this beſt, by loving honour and probity. It becomes kings to have an unalterable judgment about what is juſt and equitable, like the determinations and maxims of the wiſeſt laws. Adminiſter your high office in the kingdom, as you would govern your own houſe; that is, ornament it ſplendidly, and like a great king, and govern it with equity and exactneſs, in reſpect of all actions, that you may gain glory, and ſupport it. Never ſhew your grandeur and magnificence in expences, the effects of which ſoon vaniſh, but in what I have mentioned before, in the beauty and value of your poſſeſſions, and your generous actions towards your friends; for the effects of ſuch expences will be ſure poſſeſſions, and of more worth to your poſterity than their firſt intrinſic value. In religious ceremonies, follow the inſtitutes of your anceſtors; but believe it to be the trueſt and moſt glorious ſacrifice, as well as divineſt worſhip, if you make yourſelf as good and wiſe as poſſible; for there is more likelihood, that men of exalted virtues, rather than ſuch as honour the gods with ſacrifice, will have ſucceſs, by their aſſiſtance, in great enterpriſes. Diſtinguiſh your neareſt relations with the moſt pompous honours; but your beſt friends, with thoſe that are the moſt real and powerful. Think your ſureſt guard to be the courage of your friends, the love of your citizens, and your own conduct; for, by theſe means, kingdoms are ſooneſt acquired, and longeſt preſerved. Examine the oeconomy of private

† This is truly proper advice to a king. If he has a great ſoul, he muſt delight to ſee his nation flouriſh by commerce and public happineſs; and will endeavour to extinguiſh law-ſuits, and promote an univerſal good underſtanding and tranquillity throughout his kingdom.

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families, and think all their profuſion is ruinous of your own treaſures; and that induſtry and frugality in the ſubject augments the riches of the king: for all the poſſeſſions in a kingdom are the property of generous, brave, and wiſe kings, in times of neceſſity. Always have ſuch a ſtrict regard for truth, that your words at all times may have more authority than the moſt ſolemn oaths of others. Let your city be a religious aſylum for all ſtrangers, and obſerve with the moſt ſcrupulous equity all commercial contracts. Think more favourably of ſuch as, with proofs of gratitude, receive your gifts, than of ſuch as come to offer you preſents; for, by honouring more the firſt, you will ſpread your fame wider in foreign nations. Free your citizens from fear, and do not deſire to be dreadful to the innocent; for you will have others affected towards you, as you behave to them. Never do any thing in real anger, tho' you may ſeem, out of prudence, to be inflamed with it. Command reſpect and awe, by being ignorant of no actions; but gain love, by appointing puniſhments that are leſs than the crimes. Do not endeavour to ſpread terror by ſeverity; but draw love, by ſhewing, that others are your inferiors in courage and underſtanding, and by convincing them, that you more prudently conſult for their proſperity than they themſelves do. Be ready for war by art and preparation; but diſpoſed for peace, by deſiring nothing contrary to juſtice and reaſon. Behave ſo towards weaker cities, as you would wiſh a ſtronger government ſhould behave towards your's. Love not contention about trifles, but ſhew courage when victory will be attended with advantage and glory. Think them not deſerving diſhonour, who have been conquered in a noble cauſe, but thoſe who conquer with injuſtice. Never imagine thoſe magnanimous, who attempt things above their power, but thoſe who undertake moderate enterprizes, and ſuch as they can bring to a happy concluſion. Emulate not thoſe who have the greateſt kingdoms, but who govern beſt their own ſtates. Believe me, you will not be the happier,

though you ſhould be able to ſubject all mankind by fear and terror, but by being ſuch as you ought, and acting as at preſent; for you only deſire now what is moderate, and are indigent of nothing. Chuſe not promiſcuouſly your friends, but ſuch as are worthy of your noble nature, nor thoſe whoſe converſation will give you the greateſt pleaſure; but thoſe whoſe counſels will beſt aſſiſt you in the good government of the city. Make a ſtrict inquiry into the lives of ſuch as you admit to your familiarity, and perſuade yourſelf, that all will judge of your manners by your converſation. Charge ſuch with the management of thoſe affairs which you cannot adminiſter yourſelf, whoſe conduct will not be a diſcredit to you; for be aſſured, you will be made reſponſible for their behaviour. Never blindly believe, that ſuch as praiſe whatever you ſay or do, are your real friends; but think thoſe ſo, who freely blame your errors. Give liberty of ſpeech to the wiſe and prudent, that you may have them juſt approvers of your actions. Diſtinguiſh thoſe who artfully flatter, from ſuch as aſſent to you with benevolence, that the bad may not have advantage over the good. Liſten to what is ſaid of one another by different perſons, and endeavour to know the characters of thoſe who ſpeak, and thoſe they ſpeak of. Puniſh with equal puniſhment calumniators, as you would tranſgreſſors. Govern yourſelf, as well as others; and think it the moſt royal privilege to be a ſlave to no pleaſures, but to command your affections as eaſily and regularly as your citizens. Receive none raſhly into familiarity, nor without juſt reaſons; but accuſtom yourſelf to take pleaſure in ſuch converſations only as may benefit your mind, and make you appear the better to others. Seem not ambitious of glory from ſuch actions as bad men are capable of; but ground your magnanimity on virtue, of which vicious perſons are totally incapable. Think thoſe honours the trueſt, which are not paid out of fear in public, but by men, who, when they are in private, extol your mind and character more than your fortune.

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Conceal it, if you chance to take pleaſure in any diſhoneſt action; and never openly appear to neglect virtue. Do not imagine private perſons ſhould live virtuouſly, and princes have the liberty of indulging vice. The greateſt virtue is ſupreme glory; wherefore judge it the beſt proof of your wiſe government, if you ſee your ſubjects become richer and wiſer by your vigilance and example. Chuſe rather to leave the inheritance of a laſting glory, than accumulated riches, to your children; for the latter is uncertain, but the firſt immortal. And riches may be acquired by glory; but glory cannot be the purchaſe of riches: the latter may be the portion of bad men; but none except heroic ſouls can acquire the latter. Be ſplendid in your dreſs and ornaments of the body; but be manly in all other reſpects of your life, that thoſe who ſee you may judge you, by outward appearance, worthy of empire; and thoſe who privately converſe with you, think the ſame thing upon account of your magnanimity and fortitude. Examine always carefully your words and actions, that you may fall into as few errors as poſſible. It is one of the greateſt difficulties to ſeize the critical point of opportunity; but when the uncertainty is great, be cautious, rather than by boldneſs overſhoot the mark; for mediocrity rather conſiſts in ſome defect than in exceſs. Endeavour to be affable and ſerious; for the latter ſuits royalty, and the firſt, familiar converſation. The union of theſe two qualities is a difficulty above all others; for if you obſerve, you will find, that thoſe who are ſerious, often ſeem cold or proud; but thoſe, who affect affability, too low and humble. You muſt join theſe two characters; and avoid the inconvenience which ſometimes ariſes from both. Whatever you would know with accuracy, which becomes the ſtudy of kings, endeavour to attain your deſign by experience and philoſophy: philoſophy will ſhew you the theory, and experience render you ready in public affairs. Contemplate often what happens to private perſons and kings; for if you remember what has paſſed,

paſſed, you will judge the better about futurity. Think it a ſhame to monarchy, that many private perſons have willingly died to acquire praiſe; and that kings ſhould not have reſolution enough to live by ſuch philoſophic rules as would render them illuſtrious in their life-time, and admired by poſterity. Chuſe rather to leave monuments of your virtues, than of your body. Have all poſſible care of the ſecurity of yourſelf and city. If you are obliged to expoſe yourſelf to danger, chuſe rather to die with honour than live in diſgrace. In all your actions, remember you are a king, and take care you do nothing unworthy of ſo exalted a ſtation. Suffer not your perſon at once to undergo a total diſſolution; but ſince you have a mortal body, and an immortal mind, endeavour to leave an eternal remembrance of the latter. Diſcourſe frequently of philoſophic maxims, that you may accuſtom yourſelf to the like ſentiments. Whatever ſeems beſt to your moſt diligent conſideration, be ſure to put it in practice. Imitate the actions of thoſe men, whoſe glory you emulate. Follow yourſelf ſuch counſels as you would give your own children. Benefit by what is ſaid, or ſeek what is better. Think not thoſe philoſophers, who diſpute ſubtily about minute things; but ſuch as ſpeak eloquently and affectionately of the ſublimeſt ſubjects: not ſuch as promiſe to make others happy, while they themſelves want all the conveniencies of life; but thoſe who ſpeak moderately of themſelves, yet underſtand buſineſs and mankind, nor are ever at a loſs, and puzzled at the changes of life; but know how to bear reaſonably, and with moderation, both loſſes and proſperity.

And wonder not, if you already perfectly know many of theſe truths; for I am not ignorant of it. I know, that the number is great, both of private perſons and princes, ſome of whom have ſpoken a part of theſe things, ſome have practiſed them, others have ſeen them practiſed, and others have taught them: but, in the precepts of life, we are not ſo much to ſeek after novelty; for,

for, in theſe, there ought to be nothing incredible, nothing contrary to the inward clear ſentiments of mankind; and I judge that he is the beſt writer in this kind, who collects thoſe approved maxims which are ſcattered here and there in others minds, and expreſs them in the politeſt manner: for it is evident, that the moſt moral poems, and other writings, are judged by all the moſt uſeful; but yet are not read with the greateſt pleaſure; on the contrary, men are affected towards them as they are towards admonitors. Though it is cuſtomary to hear ſuch men praiſed, yet their company is ſeldom ſought after; and many chuſe rather to converſe with thoſe who are guilty of groſs faults, than ſuch as will give them good advice. A proof of this may be drawn from the writings of Heſiod, Theogni, and Phocilides: for all allow, that theſe authors are the beſt counſellors for the direction of life; but tho' they grant this, yet they chuſe rather to be converſant with others follies than their wiſe precepts. And ſhould any one chuſe out the ſelect ſentences of the moſt excellent poets, in the invention of which they exerted their whole genius, ſome men would be as little affected by them; for they would ſooner hear the worſt and moſt immodeſt comedy, than ſuch admirable pieces of poetry. But why ſhould I longer dwell on particulars? for, if we conſider the nature of mankind, we ſhall find the greateſt part neither pleaſed with the wholeſomeſt meats, the beſt of inſtructions, nor the moſt virtuous actions; but, ſeeking pleaſures deſtructive of true happineſs, ſee them rather endeavour to appear lovers of induſtry and temperance, than practice real philoſophy. Wherefore, how is it poſſible, by exhortation, ſcience, or uſeful knowledge, to pleaſe ſuch, who, for the above-mentioned reaſons, envy the eloquent and wiſe, and think the moſt ſtupid and thoughtleſs worthy of eſteem for their ſimplicity? Thus they fly from truth in their actions, and are ignorant of the nature of their own conduct; and grieve when they turn their minds inward upon themſelves; but

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take a pleaſure in diſcourſing of others actions. Nay, they would rather ſuffer inconveniencies in their bodies, than exert their minds, and provide by induſtry againſt the neceſſities of life. They frequently likewiſe abuſe others, and are abuſed by them; and, when alone, employ no themſelves in ſome uſeful buſineſs, but paſs their time in idle wiſhes. I ſpeak not this of all, but ſuch as are guilty of the above-mentioned negligences and errors. It therefore is clear to me, that whoever would do, or write, what will pleaſe the multitude, muſt not chuſe the moſt uſeful precepts, but amuſe them with the moſt pleaſing fables; for they take a pleaſure in reading ſuch empty fictions: but when they ſee the efforts of courage and virtue, they feel a pain in their minds. Wherefore Homer, and thoſe who firſt invented tragedy, deſerve juſt admiration; becauſe, conſidering human nature, they intermixed both theſe characters of writings in their poetry: for the firſt invented the battles and wars of the demigods, and the latter repreſented to the eye paſſions, patience, and heroic actions; ſo that we become not only hearers but ſpectators. By theſe examples, therefore, it is demonſtrable, that thoſe who would charm the minds of the hearers, muſt abſtain from admonition and counſel; on the contrary, they muſt write ſuch things as pleaſe the crowd. I have mentioned ſo much, becauſe I thought that you, who are the king of a numerous people, ſhould not be like one of the vulgar, nor have a mind upon a level with the multitude, nor judge of the merit of actions, or men, as they are merely effective of pleaſure; but make profit and good the ſtandard of both: eſpecially conſidering, that the philoſophers themſelves differ widely in their notions of the proper exerciſe of the mind, while ſome of them ſay, they ſhould conſiſt in controverſial logical diſputes; but others affirm, that we ſhall attain the moſt perfect wiſdom, by frequenting the company of thoſe who are more prudent and better than ourſelves. However, this they all agree in, that a perſon who is thoroughly well educated,

cated, ſhould be capable, by both theſe means, to give the ſolideſt counſels. But, relinquiſhing controverſy, we ſhould take for proved what is confeſſed on both ſides, and, in emergencies, always conſult men of the beſt underſtandings, and never regard thoſe who ſpeak in general terms of affairs, and are unable to diſtinguiſh the decorum and propriety of actions: for it is certain, that he who cannot benefit himſelf by his knowledge, will never be able to benefit others, or render them prudent. But do you particularly eſteem thoſe who have a ſtrong maſculine reaſon, and can ſee more into affairs than others; perſuading yourſelf, that a prudent, virtuous, magnanimous counſellor is the moſt uſeful and nobleſt treaſure of a great king. Finally, believe that thoſe will extend your kingdom the fartheſt, who render your mind the wiſer and more ſagacious. I have given you the beſt advice in my power, and have made you the moſt worthy preſent I was able. Let me add one hint here, of what I mentioned in the beginning, that you ſhould not be deſirous of thoſe cuſtomary preſents, which you purchaſe dearer from the givers than from the ſellers, but of ſuch, as though you frequently uſe them, nay, never omit a day to do ſo, you will render no worſe, or ever wear out, but, on the contrary, make them of more worth, and valuable to yourſelf.

THE

THE THIRD

ORATION

OF

ISOCRATES,

IN THE

PERSON of NICOCLES:

SHEWING

The DUTY of a SUBJECT,

AND PROVING

MONARCHY the beſt Form of GOVERNMENT.

The SUBJECT.

THIS Oration is delivered in the perſon of NICOCLES, *who ſpeaks as a benevolent father to his ſubjects. Nothing can be imagined more humane than his ſentiments: he requires no things of them, but as ſuppoſed wiſe men, and friends to his government, upon the principles of gratitude. Let* NICOCLES *have been what he would, this Oration ſhews* ISOCRATES's *ſentiment of a good and truly gracious king; in fine, a hero full of philanthropy.*

THE THIRD ORATION of ISOCRATES, IN THE PERSON of NICOCLES:

SHEWING

The DUTY of a SUBJECT, and proving MONARCHY the beſt Form of GOVERNMENT.

THERE are ſome who have an averſion to public orations, and blame thoſe who apply their minds to the noble ſtudy of philoſophy; and ſay, that philoſophers compoſe their diſcourſes for the ſake of lucre, the favour of princes, and their own ſelf-advantage. I would willingly have a reaſon given me by theſe men, why they ſhun the eloquent and learned, yet praiſe thoſe who do glorious actions. If rewards offend them, far greater are the conſequences of actions than words: beſides, it is abſurd to think, that we are either religious or juſt, or practiſe any other virtues, out of a view of being in a worſe condition than others; but that we may render our lives as happy as poſſible: wherefore we are not to cenſure thoſe actions, whereby we may virtuouſly better our condition, but ſuch men only, who tranſgreſs againſt juſtice and reaſon in their actions, and deceive by their artful ſpeaking and oratory. And I wonder why the men I blame condemn

not the poſſeſſion of riches, ſtrength, and fortitude; for if, upon account of ſome hypocrites and deceivers, they have, I ſay, an averſion to eloquence, I ſee no reaſon why they are not diſguſted with other things, which are allowed by all to be real goods, ſince there certainly are ſome, who are poſſeſſed of theſe, who are guilty of fraud and oppreſſion. But it is not reaſonable to blame ſtrength, though ſome abuſe it, and beat and wound thoſe they meet with: nor, on account of murderers, to deſpiſe fortitude and bravery; nor indeed, univerſally ſpeaking, attribute the vices of mankind to any other ſource than the depravity of their own wills. We ſhould only condemn ſuch, who pervert the goods of nature, and with thoſe advantages by which they might benefit, do prejudice to their fellow-citizens: but many neglect to judge in this manner definitively of diſtinct things, and are averſe indiſcriminately to all reaſonings, are even ſo blinded, that they do not perceive they are unjuſt to an excellency, which is the cauſe of all the greateſt advantages of mankind. In other reſpects, we do not excel even the beaſts, nay, are far ſurpaſſed by them in ſwiftneſs, ſtrength, and many other faculties: but mutual language being naturally peculiar to us, and the power of declaring our thoughts about whatever we pleaſe, we have, by perſuaſion, not only left off a ſavage life, but aſſembling together, have built cities, made laws, found out arts, and have attained, by reaſon and eloquence, almoſt all the advantages we enjoy by the benefit of ſociety and invention. It was true eloquence and perſuaſion, that firſt laid down the rules whereby we may judge what is juſt or unjuſt, honourable or infamous; without the knowledge of which, we could never live in community together. It is by the art of ſpeaking that we convict the bad, and praiſe the good. By this we inſtruct the ignorant, and approve the wiſe and prudent; for, to ſpeak as one ſhould upon momentous occaſions, is the greateſt proof, in my opinion, of a good underſtanding: and certainly converſation full of truth, reaſon, and juſtice, is the beſt picture of a virtuous and ſincere

cere mind. In fine, by the art of ſpeaking, we maintain our cauſe againſt our adverſaries, and we inquire into obſcure truths; for, by the ſame arguments whereby we perſuade others, we ſatisfy our own minds when we would take a wiſe reſolution. We call rhetoricians thoſe that are capable of ſpeaking to, and perſuading a multitude; but thoſe, prudent perſons, who reaſon beſt in their own minds about their own affairs; and, if I muſt give my judgment at once concerning this art, there is nothing which is acted prudently, both in reſpect of words and actions, but artful reaſoning is the ſureſt guide, and they that have it in the higheſt degree, have the moſt enlarged minds: wherefore we ought equally to deteſt thoſe who ſpeak contemptuouſly of wiſe teachers and true philoſophers, as we do of thoſe, who violate the temples of the gods. I, for my part, have a value for all diſcourſes and writings, which are in any the leaſt degree capable of doing good; but I think the nobleſt oration, the ſublimeſt, and moſt worthy of a king, muſt be that, which lays down the beſt and wiſeſt rules of government; and they are the compleateſt philoſophers, who teach both how princes ſhould behave towards their ſubjects, and how their ſubjects ſhould behave towards them; for, by a mutual well-regulated conduct, I ſee cities become greater and more flouriſhing than others.

THEREFORE you have heard the firſt oration, which was written by Iſocrates, upon the true art of monarchical government; but I ſhall ſpeak myſelf another, which teaches the duties of an obedient ſubject; not that I flatter myſelf with ſurpaſſing him, but becauſe I judge it moſt becoming myſelf to declare my mind to you on this ſubject: for, ſhould I not let you know what I require of you, and you act againſt my will, I could not juſtly be angry with you. Now, I judge, that I ſhall moſt effectually incline and excite you to the remembrance of what I ſhall have ſaid, as well as to obedience, not by enumerating ſo many political precepts, and then concluding; but by firſt demonſtrating, that you ought highly to eſteem our preſent government,

and love it, not out of a ſervile neceſſity, or becauſe this has been our conſtitution time out of mind, but becauſe it certainly excels all other conſtitutions; and then proceeding to ſhew you, that I do not poſſeſs a crown unjuſtly, nor the property of another, but by legal ſanction, juſtly, and by deſcent from my anceſtors, to my father and myſelf; for, if theſe aſſertions are previouſly demonſtrated, there can be no one amongſt you will not think himſelf worthy of the ſevereſt penalty, if he be not obedient to my counſels and edicts.

In regard of political governments (for there I propoſed to begin) I think it granted by all, that it would be the greateſt error and injuſtice poſſible, if the good and bad were treated alike; and that it is certainly conſonant to reaſon and equity, that the balance of juſtice ſhould be held even betwixt them, and that there ſhould be a ſuitable difference made betwixt perſons of ſuch different merit, and that both ſhould have rewards worthy of their actions. Now, ariſtocracies and republics have generally in view a kind of level among the citizens; and it is their deſign, that none ſurpaſs others in power or poſſeſſions, which oftentimes is favourable to the worſt: but juſt monarchies confer their favours on the man of the greateſt merit, and ſo downward in a juſt proportion; and if this happens not to be obſerved in all of them, yet the nature of the government is ſuch. If we conſider the tempers and judgments of mankind, as well as their actions, we ſhall find, that they naturally chuſe monarchies rather than any other form of government: and indeed, who that is endued with good ſenſe, would not rather wiſh to live under that form of government, in which, if he excels in virtue, he cannot be hidden, than be confounded with a multitude, who can never diſtinguiſh his merits; nay, we muſt judge in reaſon a wiſe monarchy the more mild and equitable, in the ſame proportion as it is more eaſy for a prudent perſon to pleaſe one clear-ſighted ſuperior, than humour the various inclinations and caprices of a whole people. Monarchy, therefore,

fore, is a milder, pleaſanter, and more juſt government than any other. I could illuſtrate my affirmation at large; but what I have ſaid may ſuffice. As for what remains to ſhew how far monarchies excel other governments in political counſels, and the execution of noble deſigns, we may beſt examine into this, if placing the greateſt actions of both, as it were, parallel to one another, we endeavour to weigh them in a balance. Theſe who have annual authority, become private perſons, before they can form a perfect judgment of the city, and have ſufficient experience: but thoſe who have perpetual power, tho' they have an inferior genius, muſt, from their long experience, have ſuperior abilities to other men. Beſides, the former neglect many things, leaving them to others care; but kings have an eye to all, becauſe they know that they are the ſpring-head of all the public felicity. Add to this, that, in ariſtocracies and republics, perſons in public poſts often, out of envy and ambition, make the public ſuffer. But monarchs, having no cauſe of envying any in the ſtate, as much as it is poſſible, conſult and put in practice what is beſt. We ſhould reflect on this likewiſe, that annual magiſtrates are often impeded in the care of the public; for they are daily taken up by their own domeſtic affairs, and, when they meet together, they more frequently are at variance than they conſult the public good: but kings, without any appointed aſſemblies, or times, ſtudying night and day the advantages of the ſtate, loſe no opportunities; but do every thing in the opportuneſt ſeaſon. Beſides, annual governors are mutual enemies and rivals, and wiſh ſecretly, that thoſe both before and after them ſhould adminiſter as imprudently as poſſible the public affairs, that they may have the greater praiſe and glory; on the contrary, kings being always ſupreme maſters, have the ſame conſtant well-regulated benevolence towards the public; but the greateſt advantage of all is this, that kings attend to the public intereſt as to their own property; but annual magiſtrates regard them as things not belonging to them. The latter likewiſe

are apt to chuſe for their ſub-delegates the raſheſt and moſt turbulent; but the former the ſedateſt and moſt prudent. Republicans honour thoſe, who, by deluſive eloquence, govern the mobile; but monarchs, thoſe who are the moſt capable of managing affairs. Nor does a monarchy ſurpaſs other governments only in ordinary and daily affairs, but has all imaginable advantages in war; for monarchies are more able, than any other form of government, to raiſe troops, to uſe them, to conceal or make ſhew of them; to perſuade ſome neighbours, to force others; to buy off danger from ſome, and win the affections of others by obligations of a different kind: and this is equally evident from facts and words; for by this means we know, that the Perſian empire is grown to that vaſt extent, not ſo much upon account of the ſuperiority of genius in that nation, as becauſe they, above all men, honour the royal dignity. It was this natural power of monarchy, which rendered Dionyſius capable of not only reſtoring ruined Sicily, as well as his own beſieged country, to freedom from danger, but of making it one of the moſt flouriſhing ſtates of Greece. The Carthaginians and Lacedæmonians, who have the beſt governed cities, are ſubject in peace to a kind of ariſtocracy; but, in time of war, always obey one ſupreme general. We may obſerve likewiſe, that the city of Athens, which, above all others, has the greateſt averſion for kings, whenever it commiſſioned ſeveral generals, it was always unſucceſsful; but, when it truſted the ſafety of the ſtate to one, was always proſperous in its undertakings. Now, can it be demonſtrated plainer than by theſe examples, that monarchy is the moſt excellent form of government; for it is evident, that thoſe cities, who have perpetual regents, and the greateſt power, as well as ariſtocracies, or ſuch cities as are governed by common counſels, always in the moſt critical and intereſting affairs, either chuſe a general, or commit the conduct of their armies to the king: and, let me add again, that thoſe who have a natural hatred of kings, when they ſend in joint commiſſion ſeveral captains,

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are ſure almoſt of miſcarriage in their deſigns. But, were it proper here to introduce antiquity, it is ſaid, that the gods themſelves are governed by a monarchy; and if this is true, it is hence evident, that even they prefer this kind of conſtitution above all others. But if no one knows the certainty in this caſe, and by conjecture only mankind have perſuaded themſelves of it, it is certain, that mankind, by a ſort of inſtinct, have the higheſt value for a monarchy; for they never would have ſaid, that the gods are governed by this form, if they had not thought it the moſt perfect of all others. To mention exactly the different forms of government in all cities, would be an endleſs undertaking; but I am of opinion, what I have ſaid will abundantly ſuffice for my purpoſe.

I SHALL now make my diſcourſe much ſhorter in regard to my juſt title to this precedency; for the proofs are more evident, and confeſſed by all: for who is ſo ignorant, as not to know, that Teucer, the head of my family, taking with him the anceſtors of the other citizens, ſailed hither, built this city, and divided amongſt them the territory. My father Evagoras, when others had loſt the crown, recovered it again by his virtues, after he had undergone the greateſt dangers, and ſo changed the ſtate for the better, that the Phœnicians no longer commanded Salamis; but we now again have the kingdom, whoſe it was originally. What now remains is, that I ſpeak of myſelf, that you may underſtand you have ſuch a king, as not only upon account of his anceſtors, but even upon account of himſelf deſerves a greater honour and government than this he now enjoys; for, I believe, all will eaſily allow, that the nobleſt virtues are temperance and juſtice. They do not only of themſelves benefit individuals, but, if we conſider the powers, the uſe, and nature of things, we ſhall find, that, when our actions are not regulated by them, they become the cauſes of the greateſt calamities; and, when joined with moderation and juſtice, are the ſources of all the variety of human happineſs: and if ſome of former ages have been

rendered glorious by theſe virtues, I ſee no reaſon why I ſhould not be judged worthy of the ſame glory. You may judge of my equity by this; for, when I came to ſupreme power, I found the public treaſure empty, and quite exhauſted; the ſtate full of trouble, and ſtanding in need of great care, ſtrict watch, and much expence. Though I know, that many, on the like occaſions, endeavouring to eſtabliſh their own intereſts by any means whatever, have done many things contrary to honour and virtue, yet I was not depraved by ſuch examples; but I managed the public affairs with ſuch diligence and integrity, that I omitted nothing that might encreaſe the glory, or add to the happineſs, of our city; for I conducted myſelf with ſuch benevolence and mildneſs towards the citizens, that they no longer either feared baniſhment, death, the loſs of money, or any the like calamity, under my reign. Though Greece was inacceſſible upon account of war, and we were injured and plundered on all ſides, yet I paid off moſt of the public debts; to ſome I paid all; to others a part; of others I begged a delay of time; with others I came to a compoſition about public injuries upon as good terms as I could bring them to allow. And though the inhabitants of the iſland were our enemies, and the Perſian king was only in words a friend, but in his intention a watchful adverſary, I remedied both theſe calamities, complying with the Perſian out of prudence and neceſſity, and behaving myſelf to the other inhabitants of the iſland with the ſtricteſt juſtice; for I am ſo far from having a deſire of uſurping the property of others, that though many, if they exceed never ſo little in power, are apt to ſeize ſomething of their neighbours, and encreaſe their own riches and territory, yet I religiouſly refuſed a country offered to me; and choſe rather to poſſeſs my own with juſtice, than, with fraud, to acquire a much larger dominion. It would be ſuperfluous to dwell upon particulars; ſince I can ſafely and publicly affirm this of myſelf, that I never knowingly injured any man; nay, I have been generous to many of my citizens, and even

other

other Grecians, and have given more kingly preſents than all they who have gone before me. And it becomes thoſe who glory in juſtice, and a mind ſuperior to the temptations of money, to be able, with truth, to ſay the like of themſelves. In regard of temperance, I can ſay ſtill more; for knowing well, that all men particularly love their own wives and children, and are moſt provoked againſt ſuch as injure them, and that indignities done them have been the ſpring of the moſt dreadful evils, and both private perſons and governors have been ruined upon this account, I ſo cautiouſly avoided ſuch dangerous injuſtices, that, ſince I came to the throne, I never was acquainted intimately with any woman, but my own wife; though I was not ignorant, that many have gained benevolence and glory from their citizens for general juſtice, though they indulged themſelves in the pleaſures that ariſe from female converſation: but deſigning to ſecure myſelf againſt any ſuſpicions of this nature, I made my own practice an example for my citizens; for it is beyond doubt, that the populace naturally imitate the manners of their ſuperiors. Beſides, I thought kings ſhould as far excel others in virtue, as they do in power and honour; and that it is folly and injuſtice to require probity from others, and neglect equity and temperance ourſelves. I obſerved many to be maſters of other affections; but that ſome of the beſt of men have failed in regard of a blind love for beauty: I therefore deſigned my citizens ſhould ſee I was capable of governing myſelf in this reſpect, by which I ſhould not only excel the vulgar, but even thoſe who have gloried in popular virtues and magnanimity. I likewiſe condemned the injuſtice of thoſe, who taking wives, and entering into the moſt abſolute community of life and property, are not conſtant in their own voluntary contract; but, by their ungovernable affection for pleaſure, grieve thoſe whom they ought to love, and render as happy as poſſible; and, though they are juſt and equitable in regard of all other ſociety, in reſpect of their conduct towards their wives, forget their own eſteem of

equity

equity and reaſon, which they ought more carefully to avoid, as their wives have a ſtricter relation with them than any others. They ſeem ignorant of what is obvious to common ſenſe, that they ſow the ſeeds of quarrels and diſſentions in their own palaces; but it certainly becomes wiſe kings, not only to keep their cities in peace and tranquillity, but their own houſe, and the place which they inhabit. This is the effect only of temperance and juſtice. Nor have I had the ſame ſentiment in regard of children, which the generality of kings have; nor did I think it proper to have ſome by women of low birth, and others by a woman of royal blood; ſome legitimate, and others natural; but I choſed to have them equal by nature on the mother's as well as father's ſide. In reſpect of mortality, to be related to my father Evagoras; in reſpect of demi-gods, to the Æacidæ; in reſpect of the immortal gods, to Jupiter himſelf; I purpoſed, that none of my children ſhould be deprived of ſuch a noble birth. Though many reaſons perſuaded me to continue in my reſolution, this motive was not the leaſt, that I ſaw even bad men diſtinguiſhed often by courage and policy, as well as other qualities, which gain eſteem and admiration; but that none, except the exaltedly good, were poſſeſſed of true juſtice, temperance, and magnanimity. Now, I judged it highly glorious to practiſe theſe virtues, which are of too noble a nature to lodge in a vicious breaſt; but, on the contrary, are the pureſt, the moſt ſublime, and celeſtial properties of human nature. Upon this account, I ſtudied with the greateſt ardor, and practiſed temperance and juſtice. Theſe virtues I preferred not only to ſordid pleaſures, but even thoſe amuſements that have a kind of honour attending them. All virtues are not to be judged of in the ſame manner; for juſtice is tried by poverty, and temperance by ſupreme power; but ſelf-denial by the obſervance of all the duties of youth. Now, I believe, I have given in my own perſon proofs, upon all occaſions, of all theſe virtues; for having been left by my father in great want of money, I behaved myſelf with that

equity,

equity, that I neither oppreſſed nor offended any of the citizens; for, though I ſucceeded to abſolute power, I was more temperate and abſtemious in my pleaſures than private perſons; and I practiſed both temperance and juſtice in an age, when moſt men are apt to fall into the oppoſite vices. I ſhould, perhaps, be aſhamed to ſpeak this before ſtrangers, not on account that I ſet light by glory, but becauſe I ſhould be apprehenſive of not gaining credit to my words; but you are witneſſes of the truth of all I ſay. Now, it is but juſt to praiſe and admire thoſe, who love and practiſe virtue, and eſpecially ſuch who perfect the advantages of nature by art and reaſoning; for they who are virtuous by chance, as it were, and not by principle, may, perhaps, change themſelves: but ſuch as, beſides a happy diſpoſition, have thoroughly perſuaded themſelves, that virtue is the greateſt good, are ſure to continue all their lives in one and the ſame uniform practice of what is laudable.

I HAVE made my diſcourſe longer on the two topics of myſelf and what I ſaid in the beginning, that I might leave you no pretence of not willingly and zealouſly obeying my orders and counſels; and I hope now, that every one of you, in his reſpective charge, will juſtly and diligently acquit himſelf of his duties; for, ſhould you be negligent in either reſpect, it is impoſſible but that the public muſt ſuffer by it: therefore ſet not light by, nor deſpiſe any thing that I command you, judging, as you ought, that as the health of the whole body conſiſts in the ſoundneſs and health of the parts, ſo you ſhould each of you, as parts of the ſtate, behave yourſelves in the beſt and moſt vigilant manner: nor have a leſs zeal to ſee my affairs flouriſh than your own: and think not deſerved popular honours an object unworthy of eſteem and emulation; on the contrary, ſet a juſt value on them, as the rewards of merit and induſtry. Refrain from injuſtice to others, that you may poſſeſs your own in quiet and tranquillity; for you ought to behave in ſuch a manner towards others, as you expect I ſhould towards you. Aim not rather at being rich than good; being perſuaded, that

that ſuch among Barbarians, as well as the Greeks, who acquired the trueſt glory, have been poſſeſſed of the nobleſt privileges and advantages. Believe the acquiſition of money, contrary to juſtice, to be the ſure ſeed of dangers; nor imagine to receive preſents, gain; or to part generouſly with money, loſs; for both depend upon particular circumſtances; but that either, as done in ſeaſon, and with prudence, will benefit the agents. Be ready to acquieſce in all my mandates; and be aſſured, that thoſe among you, who beſt promote my affairs, will enrich the moſt their own houſes. Think whatever any of you is conſcious of to himſelf, I ſhall not be long with coming to the knowledge of it; and though my body cannot be preſent in all places, that yet my care and providence will: for, if you have theſe ſentiments, you will live with the greater decency and moderation. Conceal nothing from me of your poſſeſſions, of your actions, or deſigns; and believe, that clandeſtine actions are the ſource of continual fears and alarms. Never think of mixing fraud and craft in the diſcharge of your offices; but act with that ſimplicity of manners and integrity, that, if any ſhould have a mind, they may not eaſily find againſt you a pretence for calumny. Examine your actions, and do not doubt, that ſuch are bad which you would conceal from me; but thoſe good, by which, when I come to the knowledge of them, I ſhall judge you worthy of rewards and honours. Conceal it not, if you obſerve ſome perſons unfaithful in the diſcharge of their duties under my government; but accuſe them for it; for you ought to think thoſe who conceal ſuch practices as faulty as thoſe who are guilty of them. Nor ever believe ſuch happy, who hide infamous actions, but thoſe who are truly innocent; ſince the unjuſt always deſerve themſelves to ſuffer what they make others ſuffer by their vices and oppreſſion: whereas the good have a title to all the happineſs they are the cauſe of to others. Make no ſocieties or confederacies without my knowledge: for ſuch aſſociations under other forms of government have more liberty; but, in abſolute governments, they expoſe men to danger. Abſtain

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not only from crimes, but the appearance of them, and ſuch a behaviour as will bring you into ſuſpicion. Think my friendſhip your greateſt glory and ſecurity. Preſerve with all loyalty the preſent eſtabliſhment of government, and deſire no change; for be aſſured, that, in ſuch confuſions, there is a neceſſity in nature, that cities muſt periſh, and private houſes be intirely ruined. Doubt not but that it is not only a natural diſpoſition and innate mildneſs, which renders kings good or cruel, but the manners and conduct oftentimes of their ſubjects; for many have been obliged, by the diſobedience of their ſubjects, to govern with a ſeverer hand than they would have done by their own inclinations. Preſume not ſo much on my mildneſs, as your own prudence and virtues. Think my ſafety your own ſecureſt bulwark; for, if my affairs are proſperous, you will find yourſelves in the greateſt ſecurity. You ought to ſhew humility in the willing obedience to my commands, and your adherence to your country's laws and inſtitutes; and you ſhould ſhew a zeal for my royal prerogative. Be ſplendid and magnificent in the diſcharge of all thoſe offices I truſt you with, as well as my particular orders. Exhort the youth to emulate you in virtue, not only by words, but demonſtrating to them by your actions, what it is to be good, and have a title to true honour and glory. Teach your children obedience to their king, and, by early inſtruction, accuſtom them to qualify themſelves for my favour; for, if they once learn to obey a juſt ruler, they will be fitter one day to command others; and having practiſed ſincerity and juſtice, they will be worthy of partaking of my favours and power; but if they become diſſolute and rebellious to government, they will run the riſk of loſing all. Think, that by acquiring for them my benevolence, you leave your children the ſureſt and greateſt inheritance; but believe thoſe the moſt miſerable and wretched of all mankind, who are faithleſs to their patrons and ſuperiors; for ſuch muſt be continually full of fear and ſuſpicion, and neither truſt to friends or enemies. Do not emulate thoſe

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who amaſs the greateſt ſums; but thoſe who have a clear, inoffenſive conſcience: for, with ſuch a mind, every one muſt paſs their lives the moſt agreeably that is poſſible. Never think that vice can ever gain the advantage of virtue, while it is juſtly always liable to contempt; nay, as you find the unanimous conſent of mankind gives names, believe that ſuch are, from their own experience, the nature of things. Envy not my choſen and diſtinguiſhed friends; but endeavour, by merit and induſtry, to be equalled with them. Bring yourſelves to love and eſteem whom your king diſtinguiſhes by his judgment and favour, that you may obtain the ſame honours from him. What you would ſay before me, think in my abſence. Shew your gratitude to me in actions, rather than in words. What you would be provoked at, did you ſuffer it, never do to others. Never do what you openly blame. Think your fortune will be ſuch as you will mine. Not only praiſe the good, but imitate them. Eſteem my words ſo many laws: endeavour to put them in practice; and be perſuaded, that thoſe who do this, ſhall enjoy all the conveniencies of life.

The ſum of all I have to ſay is, ſuch as you would have thoſe under you, endeavour diligently to make yourſelves towards me; and if you will do this, why ſhould I draw out my diſcourſe in mentioning the certain conſequences? for, if I behave myſelf as I have hitherto, and the public affairs be managed with the ſame prudence, you will ſoon ſee your own plenty encreaſed, and my kingdom inlarged, and your city rendered compleatly happy. It is certainly worthy of our beſt endeavours to omit nothing, but to embrace all labours and dangers for ſo noble an end. In your power it is, under my mild government, by juſtice and fidelity, to acquire all theſe great advantages.

THE

THE THIRD

ORATION

OF

ISOCRATES,

CALLED THE

PANEGYRIC,

As being addreſſed to

The univerſal Aſſembly of all Greece,

EXHORTING

The Græcians to concord, and the undertaking jointly a war againſt the Perſians.

The SUBJECT.

THIS is that celebrated oration, which is eſteemed one of the beſt in Iſocrates. Some have ſaid, that he employed ten, and others, fifteen years in the compoſition. He encourages the Greeks to undertake a general expedition againſt the Perſians, and diſputes with the Lacædemonians about the right of principality. He affirms, that all the general advantages of Greece originally came from Athens, and, upon that account, it had a juſt claim to precedency. Beſides, that the Athenians had excelled all the Græcians in the demonſtration they gave of their courage in different dangerous wars. Laſtly, turning to the judges, he ſays, reflect candidly if I can be ſaid to corrupt youth, who exhort them to the moſt heroic virtues, ſet before them the noble actions of their anceſtors, and endeavour to enflame them with a love of their country. In fine, this oration is laboured with the utmoſt art, and exactneſs of the rules of eloquence.

THE FOURTH ORATION of ISOCRATES, CALLED THE PANEGYRIC,

As being ADDRESSED to the Univerſal ASSEMBLY of all GREECE:

EXHORTING THE

GRECIANS to Concord, and the undertaking jointly a War againſt the PERSIANS.

I HAVE often wondered, that thoſe who have made popular aſſemblies, and appointed public games, ſhould have ſo greatly rewarded the excellency and good habit of the body, but paid no honours to ſuch as, in a private capacity, conſulted the happineſs of the ſtate, and ſo prepared their minds, that they became an univerſal benefit to their commonwealths: of whom, certainly, a far greater account ought to have been made by republics and kingdoms. For were combatants twice as ſtrong in body as they are, no advantage would redound by it to others; but if one man perfects his mind by philoſophy, all that are willing may be benefited by his knowledge and prudence. Yet I was not diſcouraged by this common injuſtice and neglect; but, judging that ſubſequent glory

would be a ſufficient reward of my labour, in compoſing this oration, I have ventured to give my advice about entering into a war with the Barbarians, and making a firm alliance among ourſelves. Nor am I ignorant, that many, who profeſſed wiſdom and learning, have handled this ſubject before me; but I hope ſo far to excel them, as to make what they have ſaid appear little or nothing to the purpoſe. And I judge thoſe diſcourſes to be the nobleſt and moſt worthy of public attention, which have the moſt intereſting ſubjects, declare moſt manifeſtly the ability of the ſpeaker, and bring the greateſt advantage to the hearers; of which character is the preſent diſcourſe. Beſides, I judge likewiſe, that the favourable opportunities of time are not paſſed; ſo that it is needleſs to ſpeak of them: for I think, that orators ſhould ceaſe ſpeaking, when either affairs are come to their natural concluſion and end, and when counſel about them would be fruitleſs, or that others had ſpoken ſo efficaciouſly, that they had left no poſſibility of ſurpaſſing their reaſonings and ſentiments. But while things continue in the like ſituation, and all publiſhed orations on this topic are very imperfect, why ſhould I not attempt ſuch an harangue, as, if compleated once, and finiſhed, will free us from mutual unnatural war, put an end to our preſent troubles and diſorders, and ſecure us againſt the greateſt calamities? Beſides, was it impoſſible to ſpeak of public affairs and intereſts but in one ſingle manner, and there were not different characters of eloquence, it might cauſe juſt ſuſpicion, that it was ſuperfluous, by imitating others, to give new trouble to the hearers. But as eloquence has the power to ſpeak appoſitely and ſeveral times upon the ſame ſubject, can make what is great and arduous appear little and eaſy, can give magnificence, in ſome manner, to what is low and common, can even impart an appearance of novelty, by happy modes of expreſſion, to thoughts and invention that are trite and old, and give the air of antiquity to what is modern and new; I judged I ought not to be deterred from my enterprize. I acknowledge my ſubject is

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not new; but I will endeavour to surpass, upon this topic, all the orators who have gone before me. Past actions are transmitted to posterity as equally common themes for all; but, to use them properly as examples and patterns, to think judiciously of them, and clothe our ideas in elegant expression, this is the property only of the wise and eloquent. And I think, that all other arts and sciences, as well as philosophic eloquence, would receive the highest improvement, if not those who first have written or spoken on a subject, be praised and admired; but such only as have finished, in the best manner, their writings or orations: not those, who endeavour to treat of what no one before has ever spoke of, but such as know how to express themselves with more grandeur and propriety than any others. Some blame orations which are above the common standard of the vulgar, and are laboured to a degree of absolute perfection. They are so greatly mistaken, as to measure them by such as are spoken on occasion of private contracts, and points of law; as if there was not a wide difference in these two kinds of oratory; one of which has in view cautionary pleadings, and the other, parade and ostentation; and as if it does not always follow, that he who can speak accurately, can also express himself in the plain language of men of business. It is very plain, that such men praise only those whom they judge themselves capable of imitating. But I address not my words to such who are easily contented, but to those who are difficult, and require, in my orations, something which they cannot find in the discourses of others. Nor will I enter on the subject of my discourse, till I have spoken concerning myself, perhaps, in a still higher strain of vanity. I have observed some, in the beginning of their discourses, endeavouring to win the favour of their hearers, and making apologies for their orations. Some I have heard affirm, that their performances were extemporaneous; others I have known to mention the difficulty of equalling, with eloquence, the dignity of their subject. But, on the contrary, if I do not worthily handle

my topic, and anſwer the hearers expectation, from my own capacity, and the time not only that I have employed in the compoſition, but that of my whole life: if I do not anſwer fully, I ſay, whatever is expected from me, in theſe reſpects, I will not refuſe to be allowed no excuſe, but be juſtly ſcorned and laughed at by all this aſſembly: for I ſhall certainly deſerve this, if, having made ſuch a general promiſe, I ſhould, in nothing, excel the performances of others. And this is all I thought proper to premiſe concerning myſelf. Thoſe who ſpeak of public affairs in ſuch an aſſembly as this, immediately in the beginning of their orations, inform their hearers, that, omitting all inteſtine quarrels, they ought, in alliance, to turn their arms againſt the Perſians; and, to this end, number over the calamities which ariſe from mutual wars, and the great advantages which will accrue from an inroad into the enemy's country; they ſay indeed the truth, but do not lay the foundation of their diſcourſe upon that ſolid baſis, which would anſwer fully their intention: for ſome parts of Greece is dependent on us, and other parts of it on the Lacedæmonians. The different forms of government have, in this manner, diſtinguiſhed them. Whoever thinks that the reſt of Greece will unite in the common cauſe, before the principal cities are friends, ſhews great ſimplicity, and is quite ignorant of public affairs. But it becomes thoſe who make not only pompous diſcourſes, but are willing alſo to ſee ſome good effect produced by them, to ſeek for thoſe reaſons, which may perſuade the two leading cities to be contented with equality, and divide the ſupreme command: in a word, to gain thoſe advantages over the Barbarians, that they now endeavour to gain over the reſt of Greece. It would be no difficulty to bring our city to a juſt compoſition; but it will be more difficult to perſuade the Lacedæmonians: for they have entertained a falſe opinion, that the ſupremacy of Greece is their natural right and property. But ſhould any one be able to convince their prejudice, that this honour belongs rather to our city than theirs, they would lay aſide

aſide jealous diſputes, and concur in the common good. Others therefore ought to have begun here, and not have given advice about what was allowed by all before, but have reconciled theſe fatal differences. I ſhall, in this view, for the common good, employ the chief part of my diſcourſe to this end, that I may gain this point, may promote the general intereſt, and, after I have healed our inteſtine quarrels, perſuade us to a confederate war againſt tyranny, and the common enemy. But if this ſhould be impracticable, that I may ſhew who are the impediment of ſo much good to Greece, and make it manifeſt to all, that, in former ages, our city governed by ſea, and even now claims, without injuſtice, a national precedency. For this I ſhall make evident, that if it is juſt, that every one ſhould moſt honoured in regard of what he has had the moſt experience of, and is the beſt qualified for, then indiſputably, we have a right to the chief command, which we formerly enjoyed by common conſent: for none will ever ſhew me a city which has ſo excelled in land-wars, as ours has done, in the greateſt dangers by ſea, for the common cauſe of Greece. But ſhould this not appear a juſt reaſon to ſome, becauſe, in the courſe of things, changes of power and titles muſt happen (no government continuing always in the ſame ſtate); yet they will allow, at leaſt, principality, or chief authority, like other honorary titles, to be either the property of the firſt poſſeſſors, or of thoſe who have been eminently the diſtinguiſhed benefactors of Greece, I perſuade myſelf, that, in all theſe regards, we have the advantage: for the farther any one examines into this, the more viſibly we ſhall leave our opponents behind us in their pretenſions. It is acknowledged by all, that our city is the ancienteſt, the largeſt, and the moſt renowned of Greece. And though this is the nobleſt foundation for honour, we have ſtill farther pretenſions to it, for the following reaſons: We poſſeſs, I affirm, this territory without the expulſion of others; we neither found it at firſt deſert, nor were mixed of ſeveral collected nations, but, as,

naturally as glorioufly, had our origin from this very part of the earth which we now inhabit; and therefore may juſtly be called the lawful natives of the place from the firſt order of the primeval world: and we may reaſonably give our city the deareſt names of relation; for we alone, of all the Greeks, may call our country our nouriſher, our native ſoil, and mother. Now it certainly becomes thoſe, who, without a bluſh, can glory in their original, to put in a reaſonable plea for chief authority, frequently boaſt of their paternal titles, as they are able to appeal to all hiſtory for the truth of ſuch a noble beginning. The grandeur of our nation, I affirm it again, and the privileges of fortune, in the original of our ſtate, give us no leſs cauſe, than I have mentioned, of juſt glory, and lofty ſentiments.

But, to prove the glorious benefactions of our anceſtors, we muſt examine into the periods of time from the beginning, and give the hiſtory of our political actions: for we ſhall, by this means, find our city the inventor of all the advantages and preparations of war, and almoſt the ſource of every art and ſcience, by which our lives and ſtates are rendered more happy and ſecure. But I ſhall not mention the leſſer benefits received from our nation, which time (as being of leſs moment) has obſcured; but ſuch as, on account of their excellency, are mentioned in hiſtory, allowed and praiſed by all men. I aſſert it, that what both Greece and human kind ſtand chiefly in need of, was firſt known and made common by our city; and though this may ſeem fabulous, by its antiquity, yet it is proper to be mentioned here: for Ceres coming into our country, when ſhe followed her raviſhed daughter, and being benevolently diſpoſed towards our anceſtors for their hoſpitality (but the particulars are unlawful to be told, except to the initiated) ſhe gave them two gifts, which are of the nobleſt nature; the art of propagating corn, and covering the fields every year with rich harveſts, which drew mankind from a ſavage life: ſhe likewiſe taught them her ſacred myſteries, which whoever are initiated in, have good hopes in regard of life, death,

death, and all futurity. Now our city was not only grateful to the gods, but such a lover of mankind, that, possessed of such superior happiness, it envied not this felicity to others, but made all partakers of its privileges; and even now we have of this an annual remembrance. I have acquainted you with the benefits, the advantages, and public goods, which have accrued from our ancestors; but if any one is yet diffident of what I have said, when I have added a few more circumstances, I dare say no one will be so unreasonable as to doubt of it: for, in the first place, if antiquity seems liable to uncertainty, we should the rather, on account of antient report, believe the actions to have happened; since that the more persons have heard and spoken of them, tho' they are not of modern date, we should judge them more credible for the number of attestators. But we are not compelled to have recourse only to antiquity for a proof; we may judge of this verity by a surer criterion: for most of the Grecian cities, as a remembrance of our former beneficence to them, send us annually the first-fruits of their harvests; and the Pythian Oracle, on account of some neglecting this duty, has ordered them to send in their proportions, and discharge themselves towards our city of an antient customary acknowledgment. Now what can gain credit with us, if the legality of a public right does not, which an Oracle confirms, and the greatest part of Greece allows; in respect of which, antient fame agrees with present fact, and the practice of several cities ratifies it by example? But, setting aside all that I have been saying, we shall find, by history, that the first of mankind did not enjoy all the present commodities of human life, but, by degrees, through industry and invention, procured themselves its present conveniencies. Now who are more likely, either gratuitously to have received them from the gods, or to have found them out of themselves? Shall we suppose any others, than those who are allowed by all to have been the first, the most ingenious by nature, most religious and grateful towards the gods? What honours

then the authors of the fore-mentioned benefits deserve, I think it needless here to inform your equity and wisdom; for certainly nothing can equal such great obligations. Ye therefore, I say, have these glorious proofs to give of the greatest, the first, and most universal of all human benefactions.

In the same time, or near it, our city saw the Barbarians in possession of the largest territories, the Greeks inclosed in a narrow space, and, upon account of its narrowness, laying ambuscades for one another, raising armies, and either perishing by famine, or in battle. Upon this occasion, Athens did not neglect the public interest, but sent to neighbouring cities skilful leaders, who, collecting the most indigent, and becoming their generals, conquered the Barbarians in battle, and built several cities on both sides of the continent, peopled all the islands, and saved both those who followed them, and those who staid behind in their own country: for they left the latter sufficient land to cultivate, and they gained, for the first, more than they had been possessed of. In a word, they seized, by their courage and bravery, on all that compass of ground, which Greece now possesses; so that to those who came after, and had a mind to imitate their example, they made the undertaking very easy: for they needed not to expose their lives for a new acquisition, but go and possess what lands were already freed from enemies. And who now can shew a precedency juster than this, which was established before many of the Grecian cities were built; or more commonly beneficial, than what was the destruction of the Barbarians, and cause of liberty and plenty to the Grecians? Nor, though our city excelled others by the glory of its actions, did it despise the rest of Greece; but made the beginning of its beneficence, providing the necessaries of life, which must be the foundation of all the added pleasures and advantages of it. And judging mere necessaries not sufficient to make life eligible, our city took such care for the rest, that none of all the goods, which are not the gifts only of the gods, but

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the effects of ſociety, have been acquired without our city, but the moſt, and greateſt of them, by its induſtry and invention: for, finding the Greeks living without law, and ſcattered in the country, ſome of them oppreſſed by the nobles, and others ruined by anarchy, Athens freed them from theſe calamities, conquering tyrants, and propoſing itſelf an example of a moderate government to all; for it was our city which firſt eſtabliſhed laws, and ſettled an equitable commonwealth. This is evident hence: thoſe who at firſt accuſed others of murder, and were willing that judgment ſhould be given according to equity and juſtice, not determined by violence, ſought a ſolution of theſe caſes in our laws.

And, indeed, in reſpect of thoſe arts which are neceſſary for life, as well as thoſe that were invented for the pleaſure of it, you will find, that our city, either as the inventor or improver, communicated them to others. Its other oeconomy of government likewiſe was humane, hoſpitable, and equitable towards all; for it accommodated itſelf not only to ſuch as were in neceſſity, but ſuch likewiſe as would enjoy in freedom their acquired poſſeſſions; nor was it improper either for the happy or diſtreſſed to take refuge under, but made it eligible for both to live with us, either as ſeeking the ſecurity of their juſt pleaſure, or an aſylum in calamity. Beſides, our city finding the country not plentiful enough in all fruits, but abounding in ſome, and deficient in others, and that there was need of exporting ſome, and importing others, ſhe remedied alſo this evil; for ſhe made the Pyræus, as it were, a common mart in the midſt of all Greece, which had ſuch variety of neceſſaries and merchandize, that what was difficult to be found ſingle in other places, it was eaſy to find here in the greateſt abundance.

Now they certainly deſerve praiſe, who have inſtituted public aſſemblies, becauſe they have introduced a cuſtom, whereby, as in common league, and laying aſide all enmities, we might meet together in national amity and friendſhip;

ſhip; and thus offering common prayers and ſacrifices, remember our mutual conſanguinity, be more kindly diſpoſed towards one another, renew our former hoſpitalities, contract new friendſhips, nor ſuffer this meeting to be unprofitable either to the loweſt or higheſt claſs of citizens; but, in this univerſal conflux of Greece, let the rich and nobles have an opportunity of diſplaying their happineſs and magnificence, and the lower rank, of ſeeing them contend for glory, and emulate each others virtues. Thus none are deprived of a ſhare in the common pleaſures, but ſome are delighted in ſeeing the combatants ſtrive to gain their approbation, and the combatants pleaſed to ſee all aſſembled to behold their performances. Now ſuch being the high privileges of univerſal aſſemblies in a nation, our city has not yielded to others in this regard; for it has inſtituted ſeveral moſt glorious and noble ſhews, ſome diſtinguiſhed by ſplendor and expence, others by liberal arts and proofs of eloquence, and, finally, ſome by a mixture of both theſe advantages. The multitude, which, on thoſe occaſions, come to us, is ſo great, that whatever pleaſure can be received from general company, is abundantly found in our city and country. Here we may meet with the firmeſt and moſt generous friendſhips, and all the variety of agreeable converſation; here we may ſee the nobleſt athletic games, and trials not only of ſtrength or ſwiftneſs, but hear proofs of the moſt conſummate reaſon and eloquence; in ſhort, we may ſee all manly qualities, and proportioned rewards for them: for, beſides her own gifts, Athens perſuades other cities to join in generoſity; and whatever ſhe judges conducive to public good, receives praiſe and approbation from all mankind. Beſides, I further add this, that the aſſemblies, made after long ſpaces of time by other cities, are ſcarce ſooner met, than they are diſſolved; but whoever comes to our city, finds in it, as it were, a perpetual ſucceſſive aſſembly from all the parts of Greece.

Now, that genuine philoſophy, which found out all theſe advantages, facilitated the means of acquiring them, taught

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us the rules of humanity, and rendered us sociable to one another, removed the calamities we suffer either from ignorance or necessity, and informed us how to shun the one, and bear wisely the other; that philosophy, I say, was certainly the invention of our city, which always cultivated that perfection of our reason, which all men desire, but too many envy in those who are possessed of it: for our city was not ignorant, that this is the noble faculty by which we are distinguished from beasts; and that, by our excellency in this, we have gained the advantage over them in all other things. She likewise observed, that, in regard of other actions, the effects were strangely impeded oftentimes, or disordered by fortune; so that frequently the wise are frustrated, and the imprudent and rash successful: but, on the contrary, that eloquence and philosophic discourses are not to be expected from the stupid and vitious, but from men of improved genius and refined virtue; and that those who are esteemed to excel in wisdom, are, by this faculty, the most distinguished from the grovelling-minded and the ignorant: that, likewise, those who are liberally educated, are not so much admired for their courage, riches, or any other such advantages, as they are rendered famous by the art of speaking, and the strength of their reason. This is the surest evidence of a man's education; and those who exceed others in eloquence and knowledge, are not only powerful in their respective cities, but likewise have great honour every-where. Now, our city has so far surpassed all the rest of mankind in political prudence, and artful persuasion, that those who were the disciples of our philosophers, have become masters to other people; nay, our city has been the occasion, that the name of a Grecian no longer seems to be the mark of a nation, but of good sense and understanding: those are called Greeks that have had the advantage of our education, rather than the natives of Greece.

But that I may not seem to dwell upon particulars, when I have promised to speak of the sum of affairs, nor praise our

our city from theſe topics, becauſe I have not ſufficient matter for doing ſo, on account of its glory and diſtinction in war, let this I have ſaid ſuffice to thoſe who admire the excellencies I have hitherto mentioned: I judge, notwithſtanding, that our anceſtors deſerve no leſs honour and eſteem for their heroic actions, and voluntary dangers for the public good in war, than on account of their general beneficence to all Greece; for they have not undergone either ſmall, common, or ignoble hazards; on the contrary, great, noble, and dreadful conflicts, ſome for their own country, and ſome for the liberty of other ſtates. They have ever communicated the happineſs of their city to others, and revenged, at their own expence and danger, the inſults and injuries done to the Grecians; inſomuch that ſome have accuſed our city of imprudence, for patronizing the weaker, not perceiving that they highly praiſe us by this imputation: for it was not our ignorance of what advantages accrue from ſtrong alliances, that made us act in this manner; but though we underſtood better than any men the conſequences of ſuperior power, yet we choſe rather to aſſiſt the weak, even to our own detriment, than join with the ſtrong, to promote injuſtice and oppreſſion, though we might have been the gainers by ſuch a conduct. Any one may know the manners and ſtrength of our city by the embaſſies and ſupplications which have been ſent: but I ſhall paſs over ſuch as have been ſent us lately, or upon ſmall occaſions.

But long before the Trojan times (for it is proper to begin from thence, in a diſpute of this nature), the deſcendants of Hercules came to our city, and, a little while before them, Adraſtus the ſon of Talaus, who was king of Argos. He, having met with adverſity in the war at Thebes, and not able to carry off and bury thoſe that lay ſlain under the Cadmian citadel, intreated our city to take part in the common diſtreſſes of human nature, nor neglect thoſe who had fallen by the chance of war, or permit them to lie unburied, and thus let ſo antient, national,

tional, and religious a rite be broken through. As for the deſcendants of Hercules flying from the perſecution of Euryſtheus, and not regarding other cities, as incapable of aſſiſting them, but judging our city alone ſtrong and generous enough to ſhew her gratitude for thoſe benefits whereby their father had obliged all mankind, they ſued for the patronage of Athens alone againſt oppreſſion and violence. From hence it is evident, that, even in that time, our city had a diſtinguiſhed honour, and now puts not in its claim, without ſolid grounds, to precedency: for who would ever have recourſe to weaker than themſelves, or to ſuch as were ſubjected to others, and paſs by thoſe who had the greateſt authority and power? eſpecially not coming about private affairs only, but a public intereſt, which it was not probable any would undertake to defend, but ſuch as thought themſelves worthy of being at the head of all Greece. Now, it is clear, they were not deceived in their expectations from our anceſtors; for our city entering into a war on account of thoſe who fell before Thebes, as well as for the protection of Hercules's children againſt Euryſtheus, having attacked the firſt, they obliged them to give up the dead bodies, to be decently buried by their relations; and, upon the Peloponneſians making an inroad into Attica, with Euryſtheus, they met and defeated them; by this means putting an end to the tyranny of Euryſtheus over the family of Hercules. Though they were juſtly admired before for their noble actions, yet they became ſtill more glorious by ſuch generous patronage; for they performed ſo effectually what they had undertaken, that they caſt ſuch weight into the balance of fortune, that he who had implored our ſuccour, having conquered his enemies, acquired whatever he had wiſhed by our aſſiſtance. But Euryſtheus, expecting to have been ſuperior, being himſelf taken priſoner, was forced to become a ſupplicant to our government. And this is worthy of obſervation, that he who ſurpaſſed the dignity of human nature, who was begotten by Jupiter, and, while a mortal, had godlike ſtrength,

was yet oppreſſed and tyrannized over, during life, by Euryſtheus: but no ſooner had the tyrant treſpaſſed againſt us, but he met with ſuch a reverſe of fortune, that, falling into the hands of Hercules's children, he finiſhed his life with diſhonour. Tho' I could mention many kindneſſes and favours done to the Lacedæmonians by our countrymen, yet I have only ſpoke of this; for the offspring of Hercules, the anceſtors of thoſe who now reign in Lacedæmon, taking opportunity from that protection which we had given them, returned to Peloponneſus, poſſeſſed themſelves of Argos, Lacedæmon, and Mycenæ, became founders of Sparta, and the original and ſource of all the happineſs the natives now enjoy; which the Lacedæmonians ought never to have forgotten, or ever invaded this country, from which their anceſtors kings, returning with ſuccours, were eſtabliſhed in ſuch great happineſs; nor have expoſed this city to danger, which had hazarded ſo much her own tranquillity for the ſons of Hercules; nor granted royalty to his deſcendants, and endeavoured to bring into ſervitude the authors of the whole family's flouriſhing condition and liberty. But if, ſetting aſide generous benefactions, we return again to our firſt ſubject, and give the plaineſt and ſtrongeſt reaſons which make for my poſition, is it natural that foreigners ſhould be honoured above the original inhabitants? that thoſe who have received favours, be preferred to their benefactors, and ſupplicants to their protectors? I can give a ſtill ſhorter demonſtration of theſe truths. Of all the cities of Greece at that time, Argos, Thebes, and Lacedæmon, were the greateſt, except ours, and now continue to be ſo. Now it is certain, that our anceſtors ſo far excelled all the other Greeks, that they ſent their expreſs orders to the Thebans to deſiſt from war, in the calamity of the Argives, tho' the Thebans were in the very height of their power: but, in reſpect of Hercules's children, after conquering the Argives, and other Peloponneſians in battle, our city both freed the citizens and founders of Sparta from the dangers which threatned them, on account of an haughty

haughty and inſulting enemy: ſo that I cannot poſſibly perceive how any one can produce a better plea for the leading authority in Greece, than ſuch public univerſal benefits conferred on all.

It ſeems proper to me here, that I ſhould now ſpeak of thoſe actions, which reflect glory upon our anceſtors, for their brave reſiſtance of the Barbarians; eſpecially ſince I have deſigned this diſcourſe to be an exhortation to all Greece, by common conſent, to make a confederate war againſt them. Should I here now enumerate all the difficulties and hazards of ſuch a glorious enterprize, I ſhould draw out my oration to an immoderate length. But I will endeavour, with the ſame brevity and clearneſs, to explain myſelf about what is moſt momentous, as I have lately done in regard of the topics I ſpoke of before. The nations, who have the moſt extended power, are the Scythians, Thracians, and the Perſians. Theſe are all of them our certain enemies; and our city is conſtantly maligned and expoſed to danger by them. Now what will be left to my opponents to pretend, if I prove that thoſe Grecians, who could obtain equity from others by their own power, have always humbly ſought for the aſſiſtance of our city; and that the Barbarians never entertained a deſign of enſlaving Greece, but they always attacked our country firſt. The moſt memorable war that has happened, was the Perſian: and yet there are to be found, in antient hiſtory, no leſs proofs of what I aſſert; for when Greece was as yet in a low and obſcure condition, the Thracians, under their general Eumolpus, the ſon of Neptune, and the Scythians, with the Amazons, daughters of the god Mars, made an invaſion on our country, not indeed at the ſame time, but when each of them were abſolute in Europe. Tho' they hated the whole Grecian nation, yet they found pretenſions of a private quarrel with us, judging, that, by this means, they ſhould have only to contend with one city, but thereby make themſelves maſters of all. They did not, however, ſucceed; for though they fought only with our anceſtors, yet they were as entirely defeated, as if they had contended with

with all mankind. This is clear from the calamities they ſuffered; for the hiſtory of thoſe tranſactions would not have continued ſuch a ſeries of time, unleſs this war had far exceeded all before it. It is likewiſe ſaid of the Amazons, that not one of them all returned back again; and that thoſe who remained behind, upon account of the loſs here, were deprived of their own kingdom. As for the Thracians, who, in that time, were our immediate neighbours, after this invaſion, they left ſo much land behind them, that there are eſtabliſhed, in their place, ſeveral and various nations, and many large and ſtrong cities are built and inhabited. Now, ſuch inſtances as theſe are glorious pretenſions for thoſe who put in a claim to diſtinguiſhed honours and authority. But of a like nature with this bravery (as was fitting), were theſe heroes poſterity's actions in the Perſian war, raiſed by Darius and Xerxes: for this latter war being the greateſt that has ever been mentioned in hiſtory, the moſt dreadful dangers, as it were a deluge ruſhing in on all ſides, the enemy, at the ſame time, perſuading themſelves that they were invincible by their numbers, their allies likewiſe glorying in their ſtrength; our anceſtors attacked them courageouſly, and, getting the better of both, were judged worthy, by all Greece, of the higheſt honours, for their zeal and fortitude in the common cauſe. Soon after, they had deferred to them the ſovereignty of the ſea. This all Greece concurred in, even thoſe who now endeavour to deprive us of it. But I would not here have any one think that I am ignorant, that the Lacedæmonians, at the ſame time, were authors of great advantages to Greece: yet, from hence, I judge our city deſerving of the higheſt praiſe, that, though ſhe had ſuch noble antagoniſts, ſhe ſtill gained ſo far the ſuperiority in public merit.

I SHALL inſiſt ſomething longer upon the merits of theſe two cities, and not lightly run them over, that both may put us in mind of our anceſtors valour and virtue, as well as our hereditary hatred to the Barbarians. And let me ſay here, that I am not inſenſible, how difficult it is, for me, who ſpeak of things which have been largely treated of before,

fore, and this by the moſt eloquent citizens, at public honorary burials, to expreſs myſelf with ſuitable dignity; for the moſt diſtinguiſhed actions of both, and worthy of praiſe, have been already celebrated by others, and a ſmall opportunity only ſeems left to me of adding any more; yet ſtill I ought not to omit what is left me, but willingly embrace every juſt occaſion of doing ſuch glorious rivals juſtice; ſince this will be conducive to the public good, and mutual emulation. Now, I believe it will be allowed by all, that thoſe who have turned off the calamities of Greece by the oppoſition of their own bodies, have a title to the higheſt encomiums: nor is it proper here, to paſs over in ſilence thoſe who lived before the breaking out of this war, and governed in each city; for it was they who exerciſed their poſterity in virtue, and inſpired their citizens with ſuch noble thoughts, as rendered them terrible antagoniſts to the Barbarians; for they did not neglect the public, nor enjoy its revenues as a property, while they looked on its intereſts as none of theirs; but they took care of them as their own, and abſtained from making a prey of their cities treaſures, as from what belonged to the commonwealth only: nor did they meaſure happineſs by gold; but they thought the nobleſt and ſafeſt riches were the acquiſition of public love, and general praiſe, and leaving them as an inheritance to their children; for they envied not one another's audaciouſneſs, nor exerciſed mutual enmities; but they thought it a far greater evil to be diſpraiſed by their citizens, than to loſe, with glory, their life for their country; and they were even more aſhamed then for any public diſgraces, than we are now for our private infamies and vices. It was by ſuch a principle, that they were as careful of the laws and rules which regard daily domeſtic duties, as of thoſe which are calculated for the ſecurity of public contracts; for they knew, that ſuch as were inſpired with the love of virtue and integrity, would not ſtand in need of many writings, but, by a few ſimple formulas, would live in amity both in regard of private and public intereſts.

And they were of that humane civil diſpoſition, as to contend with one another, not for ſuperiority by the ruin of rivals, but who ſhould have the honour of moſt benefiting the city; and they made aſſociations, not in view of private advantages, but of doing good to the populace. In the ſame noble deſign, they conſulted the happineſs of others, and never inſulted or oppreſſed the reſt of the Grecians. They thought it was their duty to conduct their armies, and not tyrannize over them; and they choſe rather to be called their generals than lords, their preſervers than deſtroyers; perſuading the neighbouring cities by friendly actions, not ſubjecting them by force. They made their words be more reſpected and depended on, than in our age we do our moſt ſolemn oaths; and were as religious obſervers of their covenants and treaties, as if they were the laws of fate and neceſſity: nor did they pride themſelves in power, but in living virtuouſly, and being diſtinguiſhed by their modeſty and temperance. They had the ſame diſpoſition towards the weaker, as they would have wiſhed the ſtronger ſhould have towards them; and though they judged their own city their particular care and property, yet they thought all Greece their native common country. It was by theſe maxims, and accuſtoming the youth to ſuch principles, that they rendered their ſons ſuch brave antagoniſts to the Aſiatics, that no poets or orators could ever, by their praiſes, equal the glory of their heroic actions. And I think they deſerve excuſe; for it is as difficult to worthily praiſe thoſe who have excelled all by their actions, as it would be to reaſonably praiſe thoſe who are void of all merit. In the latter, there is no ſubject for panegyric, and the former, by their divine virtues, ſurpaſs all eloquence; for how can they even be compared with thoſe (if we would not injure them) who fought before Troy? for theſe beſieged one city, in a lingering war, ten years; but their poſterity overthrew the collected forces of all Aſia in a ſhort time: nor only ſaved their own cities, but recovered the liberty of all Greece. What muſt we think their

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virtues and labours to have been, that they might be praiſed living, when they advanced with alacrity to certain death, that they might be honoured and eſteemed in their graves? I believe, that ſome god ſtirred up this war, that he might have the pleaſure of exerciſing and admiring ſuch heroiſm and amazing valour; that men of ſuch exalted natures ſhould not be unknown, or loſt in the obſcurity of death, but be equalled to thoſe who derived their blood from heaven, and were ſtiled demi-gods; for they likewiſe were ſubject, by their bodies, to common mortality, but left behind them an immortal fame, acquired by their deathleſs actions.

WHEREFORE, as I have ſaid, our anceſtors and the Lacedæmonians were always emulous of each other; and, at that time eſpecially, they contended in the race of glory, not as enemies, but as noble-minded rivals; not flattering the Barbarians to bring Greece under a common ſlavery, but joining, in mutual bravery, to aſſert the ſafety and liberty of our native country. They diſputed, indeed, for the prize of glory, and which of them ſhould be the principal authors of the happineſs of Greece; they ſhewed their diſtinguiſhed courage, and our city, firſt of all, againſt the forces ſent by Darius; for, they making a deſcent into Attica, we expected not ſuccours; but, thinking the common war our own private danger, we met in battle the deſpiſers of all Greece, having none but our own troops, and a few auxiliaries, againſt ſo great a multitude, as chearfully as if all our hazard had been in mercenary forces. But the Lacedæmonians, indeed, no ſooner knew of the invaſion of Attica, than, omitting all other care, they haſted to our aſſiſtance, marching with ſuch rapidity, as they would have done to ſave their own country from plunder and devaſtation. This is a token of the zeal and diſpatch that was then exerted by our anceſtors, as it is ſaid of them, that, in the ſame day they heard of the Barbarians deſcent, they marched to protect the frontiers, and, giving battle, raiſed an immortal trophy by the ruin of the

prodigious Perſian army: and the Lacedæmonians, in three days and nights, marched a thouſand two hundred furlongs with their whole army, to ſhew their zeal and emulation in the purſuit of glory; and our anceſtors made the ſame ſpeed to meet, alone, the common danger, before their allies could join them. After this, the war again breaking out under Xerxes, who, daring to leave his palace, and conduct his army as general, and gathering together the whole ſtrength of Aſia, came upon us with that deluge of an ocean-like power, as it is impoſſible for words to expreſs. He was elated to that exceſs of pride, that he imagined it an eaſy enterprize to enſlave all Greece; and, deſigning to give a proof of more than mortal power, he ceaſed not till he effected a prodigy, that has been celebrated by all, to wit, to make his army ſail on the continent, and march over the ſea on foot, as on even firm ground; for he made a bridge over the Helleſpont, and dug through Mount Athos by the innumerable hands of his army. Againſt a king of ſuch an enterpriſing mind, who had effected ſuch wonders, we, and the Lacedæmonians, divided the danger. The Lacedæmonians choſe out of their men a thouſand foot, and a few allies, with the deſign of intercepting their paſſage at Thermopylæ; but our forefathers filled, with warriors and ſailors, ſixty gallies at Artemiſium. Nor did they ſhew ſuch intrepidity out of contempt of the enemy, but rather out of an heroic emulation of each others courage and reſolution. The Lacedæmonians emulated our glory in the plains of Marathon, and fought to equal it, fearing leſt our city ſhould again become the ſole cauſe of the ſafety of all Greece. But our anceſtors were deſirous of preſerving their acquired fame, and make it evident to all, that they did not conquer before by fortune, but by their bravery and valour. Beſides this, they had in view to bring the Greeks to improve their maritime powers, and ſhew them, that conduct and bravery, in this reſpect, prevail over multitudes. Tho' both ſhewed equal bravery, yet they had not both the ſame ſucceſs; for the Lacedæmonians were

were ſlain: and tho' they conquered, by their virtue and courage, the power of death itſelf, they, notwithſtanding, ſunk under the multitude of their enemies; for it is not lawful to ſay of ſuch undaunted heroes, that they were or could be vanquiſhed: not one of them but ſcorned ignoble flight. Our anceſtors, on the contrary, immediately conquered the firſt ſhips of the Perſians: but when they heard, that the Barbarians had gained the paſſage, they ſailed back, and ſo conſulted the public good, that, after they had performed many noble exploits, they particularly excelled themſelves in the extremity of danger; for all their allies being diſpirited, and the Peloponneſians walling up the Iſthmus, and ſeeking their own ſafety, nay, all the other cities being ſubjected by the Barbarians, and fighting on their ſide, except ſome that had been neglected on account of their inconſiderableneſs, our anceſtors ſtill retained the ſame independence and magnanimity; for twelve hundred ſhips, and an innumerable land-army, being ready to invade Attica, though they could promiſe themſelves no ſecurity, deprived as they were of allies, and all probable hopes, yet ſtill having it in their power to avoid danger, nay to receive diſtinguiſhed favours which the king offered them, who judged, that if he once joined to his own their naval force, he ſhould, without difficulty, make himſelf maſter of all Peloponneſus; notwithſtanding this, I ſay, they rejected his propoſals with a ſublimity of mind worthy of patriots and true heroes. Nor did they indulge a blind reſentment againſt other Grecians, by whom they had been deſerted, and eagerly accept the terms propoſed by the king; but they reſolved alone to contend for liberty, pardoning and pitying thoſe who choſe ſubjection and ſlavery; for they thought, that humble and weak cities might conſult their ſafety any ways; but that thoſe who were emulous of the higheſt glory in Greece, could not be excuſed, if they ſhunned danger in the common cauſe of public good and liberty. And as it is eligible to brave and virtuouſly-minded men, rather to chuſe death than an infamous life, ſo it is

more eligible to cities, that excel in glory, to be erazed to the very foundations, than ever ſubmit to ſervitude. It is certain our anceſtors thought ſo; for, finding themſelves not a match for the king's both ſea and land-forces, taking all the citizens aboard their ſhips, they ſailed with them to an adjoining iſland, that they might thus not expoſe themſelves all at once to the chance of war. I may juſtly here cry out, how can we poſſibly imagine better men, or greater lovers of Greece, than ſuch as had the courage (to ſave others from ſlavery) to look calmly upon their exhauſted city, their plundered country, their ſpoiled temples, their burnt ſhrines, the whole war pouring in on all ſides into Attica! But this did not ſuffice them; for they dared alone to fight againſt twelve hundred of the Barbarian ſhips. Indeed they were not ſuffered to do this by the reſt, but they had the courage to have done it; for the Peloponneſians, bluſhing to ſee their virtues, and judging their own ruin muſt follow theirs, and, ſhould they conquer unaſſiſted, that they would diſgrace all the other cities; the Peloponneſians, I ſay, were thus forced to come in to their aſſiſtance. I need not here, methinks, on this occaſion, repreſent the tumult of action, the ſhouts and mutual exhortations of the ſoldiers and ſailors, and all the horrors of ſuch a dreadful conflict.

But what is peculiar and proper to precedency in honour, I think it my duty to take an opportunity of mentioning in this place; for ſuch was the glory and ſuperiority of our city, in its flouriſhing condition, that, after it was left and abandoned, yet its inhabitants furniſhed more gallies for the common cauſe than all the reſt of Greece beſides; for there is no one ſo unjuſt an adverſary to us, as not to confeſs, that tho' all Greece conquered in this ſea-battle, yet our city was the cauſe of ſo ſignal a victory. And, in a future expedition againſt the Barbarians, who, in equity, can we think ſhould have the higheſt command? Should it not be they who excelled in the former war, who gained the greateſt applauſe, often alone expoſed their lives,

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and were univerſally judged worthy of the higheſt honours? Should it not be they, who left their own habitations for the public good, tho' they were antiently the poſſeſſors of the greateſt number of cities, and preſerved them by their valour from the dreadfulleſt calamities? Muſt it not be ſaid, with reaſon, that we ſhould ſuffer great injuſtice, if, after having borne the hardeſt labours in our national adverſities, we ſhould now be judged only deſerving inferior honours? and tho' they originally took the place of all, they now ſhould be forced down to a humbler rank? In the forementioned times, I know all will agree, that our city was the cauſe of the greateſt public good, and conſequently deſerved the precedency.

But, after all this, ſome accuſe us now of having been, when we had received the ſovereignty of the ſeas, the cauſe alſo of many calamities to the Greeks; and they mention, on this occaſion, the captivity of the Melii, and the total deſtruction of the Scioneans. But I think this is no proof that we ruled unjuſtly, if ſome, who dared to make war upon us, were ſeverely puniſhed: nay, I rather think, that this is a certain mark, that we had a great regard for the intereſts of our allies, ſince no cities, under our patronage, fell into the like miſeries. Beſides, if any other ſtates uſed a milder government, they alone have a title to condemn us: but if this has not happened (nor is it poſſible to keep ſo many cities in obedience, without puniſhing the diſobedient), how can it be otherwiſe than juſt to praiſe us, who, having ſhewed our reſentment but againſt a few, were able to maintain our ſovereignty ſo long? And none can doubt, methinks, that thoſe are beſt patrons and protectors of the Grecians, under whoſe government the obedient have been in the moſt flouriſhing condition. Now, under our principality, we ſhall find, that both private families were in the happieſt ſituation, and cities in the moſt improving and flouriſhing condition; for we envied not their increaſe, nor introduced troubles amongſt them, or raiſed ſeparate factions, that they might be divided, and each party

court our favour; but, judging the concord of our allies a common good, we governed all cities by the ſame laws, treating them as friends do, not as lords; directing, indeed, the univerſal affairs of all the ſtate, but leaving every one free in his own cities; always aſſiſting the people, and humbling tyrants, thinking it unjuſt, that a multitude ſhould be ſlaves to a few, and the poorer ſort, though no ways in other reſpects inferior, be excluded from public poſts; and though our native ſoil be a common property, that ſome ſhould reign, others be only as ſojourners, and though citizens by nature, yet be deprived of a ſhare in the government. Having theſe juſt objections againſt oligarchies, and more than theſe, we eſtabliſhed the ſame form of government amongſt others, as we uſed ourſelves; which, I think, I need not praiſe more at large, as I can make the whole evident in few words; for we have continued ſeventy years living under this form of government, ſecure againſt tyrants as well as Barbarians, without civil diſſenſions, and having peace with all mankind: which, certainly, all prudent perſons ought rather to be glad of, than upbraid us on account of our colonies, which we have ſent into deſert places, for the defence of the countries, and not out of a proſpect of our own advantage and emolument. This is a proof of it; for, having a ſmall territory in reſpect of the multitude of inhabitants, but a ſtrong and united government, having double the number of gallies that all others had, and being capable of contending with double that number, and tho' Eubœa was adjacent to Attica, and by nature advantageouſly ſituated for the ſupremacy of the ſea, and excelling all other iſlands in other reſpects, we did this iſland no injuſtice, and ſet an example of abſtinence from oppreſſion, when we had as much power over it, as we had over our own territories. Add this likewiſe, that tho' we well knew, how that thoſe Greeks, as well as Barbarians, are moſt admired, who, entirely deſtroying their neighbours, procure themſelves affluence, and the liberty of an unactive indolent life, yet nothing of this tempted

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our anceſtors to act unjuſtly by this iſland; and we were contented with leſs affluence than others enjoyed, whom we had ſome plea of ſubjecting. Had we had avarice in view, would we not have retained Scione, and not voluntarily have given it away to the Platæans, who had fled to us for ſuccour? But, I ſay, we parted with the poſſeſſion of thoſe lands, which would have enriched all our city. Now, after ſuch an example of moderation, and ſuch a proof of our equity, and abſtinence from others rights, dare thoſe accuſe us, who have made themſelves oppreſſive officers, rendered all former injuſtices done their commonwealth, comparatively ſmall, and left no poſſibility to others of exceeding them in violence; but, profeſſing themſelves lovers of the Lacedæmonian intereſt, by their practices confute their own declarations; and, while they lament the fate of the Melians, refrain not from the moſt exorbitant oppreſſions of their own fellow-citizens. For, what injuſtices have they not done? and what infamies and cruelties have they not perpetrated? In ſhort, what crimes, tho' never of ſo revolting a nature, have they abſtained from? They have eſteemed the raſheſt and moſt imprudent the faithfulleſt to them, and flattered traitors and betrayers of their country, as if they were its benefactors; and even ſubjected themſelves to ſlaves, that they might tyrannize over their citizens; nay, have even honoured public murderers and aſſaſſins more than their very parents. Theſe facts are too notorious to admit of any colouring. And they have inſpired us all with that inhumanity, that tho', before this confuſion of order on account of our then happineſs, in the ſmalleſt diſaſters we were wont to have a number of condolers and ſympathizers, yet, under their government, upon account of the variety of our domeſtic calamities, we have quite left off pitying one another; for they have allowed no one ſo much leiſure as to commiſerate his neighbour. Whom have they not violated? or who was ſo retired from public affairs, as not to ſhare in the common miſery, which was cauſed by their barbarity?

Laſtly,

Laſtly, Are they not aſhamed, who have ſo ill-governed their own cities, to accuſe ours of injuſtice and miſmanagement?

But, moreover, they dare to object to us the law-ſuits and ſentences of court, which happened in thoſe times; tho' they put to death, without a legal condemnation, in three months, more than our city arraigned during all its government. But, as for the baniſhments cauſed by them, the ſeditions, and confuſion of all laws, the changes in form of government, the inſults done to youth, the violations of married women, and the plundering of private fortunes, what tongue or eloquence can enumerate, or ever paint them in full colours? But this I have to ſay in a few words, that all the injuſtice and oppreſſion committed by us, might be rectified by one decree; but that it is an impoſſibility ever to redreſs the aſſaſſinations and crimes committed by them. On the contrary, who would, I will not ſay, accept of the preſent ſort of precarious peace, but of that liberty, the idea of which is preſerved only in writings and covenants, rather than that mild public oeconomy which was obſerved in our commonwealth? Who would deſire ſuch circumſtances of public management, wherein pirates are maſters of the ſea, and armed ſoldiers ſeize the cities; when citizens, inſtead of fighting with unanimity againſt a common enemy, are in civil broils with one another, and more cities have been taken by force, and enſlaved during their rule, than were before the peace? Now, on account of the frequent changes of government, and thoſe baniſhments which are the conſequents, all bravery and ſpirit ſeems extinguiſhed every where, and the baniſhed live more contented than they who are left behind; for the latter fear futurity, and the firſt hope a better turn of affairs: and, in general, all are ſo far from liberty, and the free enjoyment of their native laws, that ſome cities are ſubject to tyrants, ſome are governed by a ſort of military deſpotic maſters, and others ruined to the very foundations, while the Barbarians have poſſeſſed themſelves of others. Thoſe Barbarians, I ſay, whom, upon their daring to paſs

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over into Europe, and conceive higher ideas of their power than they ought in wiſdom, we ſo humbled, that they not only willingly deſiſted from invading us, but ſuffered their own coaſts to be plundered. And though they came with twelve hundred ſhips, yet we brought them to that low ſtate, that they dared not to draw down a long ſhip within Phaſelis, but remained quiet, waited the opportunities of time, and diſtruſted their then condition and forces. And that all this was owing to us, the enſuing calamity of our city has ſufficiently declared; for, from the time we were deprived of the ſovereignty, all the misfortunes of Greece took their fatal origin. After our loſs in the Helleſpont, others being generals and admirals, the Barbarians conquered by ſea, and became maſters of it; they ſeized moſt of the iſlands, and made a deſcent upon the territory of the Lacedæmonians; they took Cythera by ſtorm, and, plundering and diſtreſſing all Peloponneſus, they ſailed ſafely away again. But we ſhall be beſt judges of the greatneſs of the public calamity, if we examine the preſent treaties, and thoſe which were made under us, and tranſmitted down in writing; for then we gave laws, and preſcribed bounds to the Perſian monarch, ordering certain tributes, and forbidding him the freedom of the ſea: but he now regulates the ſtates of Greece, appoints what all ſhall do, and almoſt elects the magiſtrates of each reſpective city. Excluſive of this, what has he not obtained? Is he not the arbitrator of war? Has he not directed the terms of peace, and been moderator in all our public intereſts? Have we not, ſailing to him as to a ſovereign prince, mutually accuſed one another? Do we not ſtile him the great king, as if we were in fact his captives? Do we not, in our inteſtine wars, have recourſe to him, place our hopes of ſafety and protection in him; in him, I ſay, who would willingly deſtroy us all?

THOSE who form a ſolid judgment of this, are diſpleaſed with the preſent ſtate of things, deſire again our management of the public good, and reſent the conduct of the

the Lacedæmonians, who pretended, at the commencement of the war, the common liberty of Greece, but, in the concluſion, betrayed it to the Barbarians, made the Ionians deſert the intereſt of our city, from which they came, and by which they had often been ſaved, and even delivered them into the hands of the common enemy; from us, I ſay, they withdrew them, from whom they formerly went to eſtabliſh themſelves there, where they poſſeſs the territory againſt the Perſians will, with whom they ſcarce ever ceaſe having war. The Lacedæmonians then reſented, that we ſhould pretend even legally to govern thoſe we had a juſt authority over; but now that they are ſunk into ſuch a degree of ſlavery, the Lacedæmonians are totally unconcerned about them. Nor does it ſeem enough to the Perſian, that they pay tribute, ſee their ſtrong places poſſeſſed by the enemy's garriſons, but, beſides their public calamities, they ſuffer more in their bodies than our very bought ſlaves; for no one of us treats ſo inhumanely his ſervants, as they do free perſons. But the greateſt of all miſeries is, that they are forced to expoſe their lives in rivetting faſter their own chains, to fight even againſt thoſe who would reſtore them to their liberties, and run thoſe dangers, wherein, ſhould they fail of victory, they muſt die, but, coming off victorious, muſt render their ſervitude the more ſevere and inevitable for the future. Of all which whom can we accuſe as authors, but the Lacedæmonians? who, though they have ſuch great power, yet neglect their allies and friends under ſuch deplorable circumſtances, and look on with indifference, while the Barbarians ſtrengthen their own empire with the blood and bravery of the Grecians. And formerly, indeed, they drove out tyrants, and aſſiſted the people; but they are now ſo far changed, that they enter into war with republics, and help to eſtabliſh monarchies. In the time of peace they ruined Mantinea, ſeized Cadmeia, the Theban fortreſs, and now they are at war with the Olynthians and Phliaſians: nay, they even are auxiliaries to Amyntas king of the Macedonians, Dionyſius the tyrant

tyrant of Sicily, and the Barbarian who lords it over Aſia, that they may have as great a power as poſſible. And what can poſſibly be more abſurd, than for the chief of Greece to make one man the lawleſs deſpotic maſter of ſo many perſons as ſurpaſs calculation? On the contrary, hinder the greateſt free cities from uſing their own laws, force them to become ſlaves, or elſe to ſtruggle with the greateſt difficulties and loſſes? But what is the moſt aſtoniſhing of all is, to ſee thoſe who have the leading power, fighting almoſt conſtantly againſt the Grecians, but making a perpetual confederacy of mutual ſuccours with the Perſian. Nor let any one think I ſpeak this out of enmity, becauſe I have explained this in ſtrong terms, tho' I ſaid I deſigned this diſcourſe as a preliminary of common concord; for I have not ſpoken in this view, that I might publicly accuſe the city of Lacedæmon, but that, as far as lies in oratory, I may diſſuade the Lacedæmonians from entertaining any longer the ſame ſentiments. And it is impoſſible to turn others from any crimes, or perſuade them to the contrary virtues, unleſs we ſeverely reprehend the guilty. We ought, indeed, to think thoſe men accuſers, who reproach us with the deſign of hurting us, but to eſteem thoſe men our monitors, who do it for our advantage; for we ought not to put the ſame interpretation upon the ſame words, if not ſpoken with the ſame intention: but we have juſtly to blame them for this likewiſe, that they force their neighbours to be ſlaves to their own city, yet procure nothing of a like nature for their allies. But would they once put an end to all contention with us, it will be in our joint power to make all the neighbouring Barbarians the ſlaves of Greece.

Now, it certainly becomes thoſe, who are by nature, and not caſually, of a noble mind, to attempt the forementioned great enterprize, and not graſp at tributes from the iſlanders; ſince the inhabitants of iſlands ought to be the objects of compaſſion, ſince they are obliged, by the ſcarcity of land, to plough the very mountains; but the inhabitants of the Aſiatic

Aſiatic continent, on account of its vaſt extent, leave the greateſt part uncultivated: from which, notwithſtanding, they receive ſuch variety of fruits, as render them immenſely rich and opulent. I really believe, that ſhould ſome intelligent ſtranger come from a foreign country, and ſee the preſent management of our public affairs, he would condemn us of folly and frenzy, who run ſuch hazards for ſmall advantages, when we might with ſafety acquire ſuch affluence; nay, deſtroy our own country, when we might engroſs the riches of Aſia. Nor can any thing be more profitable to the Perſian, than to furniſh us with perpetual occaſions of making war on one another: but we are ſo far from diſturbing his proſperity and eaſe, that we endeavour to compoſe for him thoſe troubles which accidentally ariſe in his dominions. We even ſuffer him to uſe one of the armies in Cyprus, and beſiege the other, tho' both of them are compoſed of Grecians; which two armies are friendly diſpoſed to us, and have put themſelves under the patronage of the Lacedæmonians: and as for the forces under the command of Tiribazus, the moſt ſerviceable of his infantry has been raiſed in theſe parts, and the greateſt number of ſeamen have ſailed from the coaſts of Ionia; all which troops would much more willingly plunder the continent of Aſia, than fight with their own countrymen, for inſignificant advantages. But we blindly make no account of this, contend with one another for the Cyclades, and leave ſuch a number of gallies and ſtrong powers in the hands of the enemy, that with them he poſſeſſes ſome places, will have others, and has deſigns upon more. Thus he juſtly deſpiſes us for our miſconduct, and has effected what none of his anceſtors ever could; for Aſia is confeſſed, both by us and the Lacedæmonians, to be the king's right and property: and he has ſo lordly ſeized upon ſeveral Grecian cities, as to demoliſh ſome, build fortreſſes, and put garriſons into others; and all this has happened by our improvidence and folly, not his bravery and wiſdom.

SOME admire, indeed, the grandeur of the Perſian's empire; ſay, he is very difficult to conquer, and mention, on this occaſion, the revolutions which he has cauſed in Greece. Now I think, that theſe very men are ſo far from diſcouraging, that they ſtrongly exhort us to enter into a war with him; for if, in the common union and friendſhip of us all, he ſhould be hard to humble in the confuſion of his ſtate, ought we not doubly to fear ſuch a time, when the affairs of the Barbarian ſhall be ſettled in tranquillity and concord, and we, as at preſent, divided, and bearing hoſtile diſpoſitions? Though they ſhould be, as I have ſaid, of the opinion mentioned, they do not judge rationally of the king's power; but could they indeed ſhew us, that, in any time, he had prevailed over both our cities united, then we ſhould have even now juſt cauſe to fear his ſuperiority. If this they cannot do, but when we were at variance, that only then, by joining with one ſide, he ſeemed to gain a ſort of glory, this, I ſay, is no proof of his ſtrength at all; for, in ſuch circumſtances we muſt be ſenſible, that a little change of balance cauſes great alterations. And I may ſay this in reſpect of the Chians, that with whichſoever of us they joined, that party was ſure to have the command of the ſea. But we are not to conſider the king's power as in confederacy with either of us, but when he fought only with his own forces. And, firſt, in the revolt of Egypt, what did he effect againſt thoſe who poſſeſſed themſelves of it? Did he not ſend thither the moſt renowned of the Perſians, Acrocamas, Tithrauſtes, and Pharnabazus. Theſe generals, after three years ſtay there, and ſuffering more diſtreſs than they cauſed to their adverſaries, were at laſt forced to return ſo ſhamefully, as not only to leave the revolters poſſeſſors of Egypt ſtill, and not contented with liberty, but alſo attempting to make themſelves lords of the bordering ſtates. After this, he made war upon Evagoras, who is regent but of one city in the iſland of Cyprus, and abandoned by our treaties: and tho' Evagoras had a loſs by ſea, and only three hundred ſpear-

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men to defend his territory, yet the Perſian has not been able to get the better of ſuch ſmall forces, but has already employed to no purpoſe ſix years ſtruggle. And if we may conjecture of futurity by what has happened, it is more probable ſome others will revolt, before he can take Evagoras's city; there are always ſuch delay and procraſtination in the conduct of the king's affairs. In the wars of Cnidos, he had the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonian allies, upon account of their too ſevere government, as well as ours; and Conon marched to him with an army, who was a moſt vigilant general, faithful to the Grecian intereſt, and perfectly ſkilled in the art of war. Tho' the Perſian had ſuch a capable aſſiſtant, yet, for all this, he ſuffered all the naval forces of Aſia to be blocked up, for three years ſucceſſively, by only three hundred gallies; and he wronged the ſoldiers of fifteen months pay: ſo that, as far as depended on him, they muſt have been diſbanded; and it was with difficulty at laſt, that he conquered, by means of the confederacy of the Grecians at Corinth, formed on the impending dangers.

THESE are the nobleſt and moſt royal actions of the Perſian, which ſome are conſtantly mentioning, who are willing to extol the king's power: ſo that none can juſtly object to me any unfair dealing, or that I do not uſe proper examples, but dwell upon minure things, and omit things of far greater moment; for, avoiding this accuſation, I have only mentioned his moſt celebrated and ſplendid exploits. But I was not ignorant of the bravery of Dercyllidas, who, having only a thouſand armed men, poſſeſſed himſelf of Æolis; or how Draco, having taken Aterneus, and getting together about three thouſand ſhielded ſoldiers, plundered and ſpoiled the Myſian territory; that Thymbron, having tranſported a ſomething larger number, ravaged all Lydia; Ageſilaus, commanding the troops of Cyrus, ſeized upon almoſt all that ſpace of land which lies within the river Halys. We need not therefore, I ſay, fear the king's power, or the bravery of the Perſians; for it was evident,

evident, by thoſe who came with Cyrus, that the reſt are no better ſoldiers than thoſe who inhabit near the ſea. I will omit other battles in which they were worſted, and ſuppoſe, that they were divided by ſedition, and unwilling to do their utmoſt againſt the king's brother: but even after Cyrus's death, all the collected powers of Aſia fought in ſuch a ſhameful manner, that they left no opportunity, no room, for praiſing the Perſian valour; for having ſurpriſed about ſix thouſand Grecians, who were not choſen men, but incapable of living in their own cities, on account of their diſorders, and ignorant likewiſe of the country where they were; I ſay, having ſurpriſed theſe men, unaſſiſted by allies, betrayed by the Perſians, deprived of their general; yet, notwithſtanding ſuch diſadvantages, the Perſians were ſo inferior to them, that the king, diſtruſting the ſtrength of his army, had recourſe to fraud, treacherouſly ſeized the Grecian captains, and hoped, by this violation of laws, to ſpread terror in their ſmall camp; chuſing rather thus to offend the gods, than hazard an open battle with our countrymen: but failing in his deſign, the ſoldiers continuing together, and bearing this unexpected loſs, he ſent after them in their march Tiſſaphernes, with the horſe; and though they were conſtantly moleſted by the Perſians in their way, they held on their march as ſecurely as if they had been eſcorted only; and more feared the deſartneſs of the country than the numbers of their enemies. The head of what I have ſaid is, that they who ſought not after booty, or ſeized upon ſome city, but marched directly againſt the king himſelf, returned with greater ſafety than thoſe who went to him under the protection of the rights of embaſſy, and propoſals of friendſhip: ſo that, I think, the Perſians have given evident proofs, in all places, of their womaniſh effeminacy. Upon the coaſts, likewiſe, they have been defeated in ſeveral battles; and, having made a deſcent into Europe, they ſuffered for their raſhneſs; for ſome of them periſhed, and others more ſhamefully ſaved themſelves; and, finally, thoſe who returned, became ridi-

culous in their enervate king's pompous unmanly palace.

NOTHING of this happened without cauſe, but all according to the conſtant nature of things; for it is not poſſible, that men ſo educated, ſo governed by a vicious tyrant, ſhould be poſſeſſed either of bravery, or any other noble virtue. How can it be, that, in ſuch a form of government, there ſhould be a good ſoldier, much leſs a heroic, wiſe, juſt, brave general? The greateſt part of them are a diſorderly, diſſolute mob, unacquainted with the horrors of death, afraid of war, and more habituated to ſlavery than our moſt abject bought ſervants: nay, the nobleſt of them, as they are called, never lived upon equal, public, equitable terms in their kingdom, but oppreſſed ſome, while they were the meaneſt, moſt abandoned ſlaves to others; and are men the moſt corrupted that is poſſible, by vice and ſervitude, in all nature. What grovelling wretches muſt ſuch be, whoſe very education teaches them the loweſt baſeneſs, ſubmiſſion to uſurping cowardice! They have indeed luxurious wanton bodies by riches and intemperance, but abject diſpirited minds by ſubmiſſion to deſpotiſm; ſhewing the vileſt worſhip and adoration in the palace, and learning thus, in the ſchool of cowardice and injuſtice, all poſſible depravation of manly reaſon: adoring, I ſay, a mortal man, and calling him a god; deſpiſing the truly immortal gods, while they ſpeak, to the ſhame of mankind. Thus their nobles, who are ſent to the ſea-coaſts, do not belye their good inſtructions, but practiſe what they have been accuſtomed to. Unfaithful to their friends, and cowards to their enemies; living in the moſt abandoned low-mindedneſs towards a monarchical idol, and with pride towards their fellow-countrymen; treating ill their allies, and crouching, like fawning dogs, to a bold adverſary. They maintained, indeed, the army under Ageſilaus eight months at their expence; but, after it had hazarded a battle for them, they defrauded the Greeks of double that pay: they gave an hundred talents to thoſe who took Chiſthene, but

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treated those, who made a descent with them into Cyprus, worse than the very captives. To express myself in one word, whoever fought against them resolutely, was successful; but whoever was their subject, led and finished his life infamously. Did they not put Conon to death, who had fought for them, and ruined the Lacedæmonian state? On the contrary, did they not present Thucidides with the most splendid gifts, who entirely ruined their fleet? And who would then seek their friendship, who ruin their friends, and flatter their enemies? What state of Greece have they not injured? In what period of time have they not had insidious designs against us? Is not every custom of ours odious to them? Who even, in the former war, dared to plunder and burn the temples and shrines of our gods: and it is just to mention here the Ionians with honour, who prayed for vengeance on those that rebuilt them, and restored them to their former beauty, not out of inability of doing so, but designing the ruins to be a lasting monument, to future ages, of the irreligion of the Barbarians; that none of us might ever trust to those who dared, in such an outrageous manner, to violate the seats of the gods, but be always upon our guard against them, and ever be diffident of them, who not only violated our bodies, but the very monuments of our piety. I may justly here speak in praise of our countrymen, that, with whomsoever they had a war, no sooner were hostilities over, but they forgot all enmity, yet would never shew a friendly inclination to the Asiatics, though they courted their friendship with presents and great advantages. So just, so natural a resentment they have against them, that many of our forefathers have condemned persons to death, who, they thought, favoured the Medes power; and, in public assemblies, even now they imprecate curses upon those, who dare propose to the citizens peace with the Barbarians. The Eumolpidæ and heralds, upon this national hatred of the Persians, forbid other Barbarians entering to celebrate the religious ceremonies, just as they do known murderers: nay, we have natu-

rally ſuch a hoſtile mind towards them, that we take the moſt pleaſure in thoſe fables, which relate to the Trojan and Perſian affairs; becauſe we learn, by them, their calamities. Some have made, upon account of war with the Barbarians, hymns in honour of the gods; but, upon account of our inteſtine contentions, dirges and lamentations: the firſt are ſung in feſtivals, but the latter mournfully repeated on public diſaſters. I really believe, Homer's divine poeſy was more admired on account that he writes a deſcription of battles with Barbarians; it was, in my judgment, this which diſpoſed our anceſtors to make his art honourable in the liberal exerciſes, and in the education of youth, that, by often hearing thoſe poems, we might all of us imbibe a native deteſtation of the Barbarians; and, at the ſame time kindling with the noble emulation of thoſe heroes who fought againſt Troy, might aſpire one day to imitate their heroiſm.

WHEREFORE, as I have before ſaid, numberleſs reaſons exhort us to make war with the Perſians; eſpecially this preſent opportunity, which we ought not to omit, as none can be better: and it would certainly be a ſhame not to take advantage of it, but regret it when it is paſſed. What advantages can we deſire in undertaking war with the king, which we do not now enjoy? Has not Egypt and Cyprus revolted from him? Phœnicia and Syria are ruined by the war; nay, Tyre, which he gloried in, is now poſſeſſed by his enemies: beſides, moſt of the cities of Cilicia are in the hands of thoſe who are in our intereſt, and it is not difficult for us to bring over the reſt to our party; but no one of the Perſians ever was maſter of Lycia: Hecatomnus, the ſatrape of Caria, has a long time ago, in reality, revolted from the eaſtern monarchy; he will declare himſelf whenever we pleaſe. From Cnidos as far as Sinope, Grecians poſſeſs the outſkirts of Aſia; whom we need not endeavour to perſuade to make war, but only not hinder them from making it. Now ſuch being the favourable circumſtances, and ſuch a conflagration ready to ſurround Aſia on all ſides, what

what difficulty is there of forming a conjecture of the event, or what need of enlarging upon our advantages? for if we ſee them far inferior to ſeparate parts, how can they reſiſt, if they contend with us all united? This is the fact. Should the Barbarian throw greater forces into thoſe cities which are near the ſea, than he has hitherto done, the iſlands adjoining to the continent muſt depend on the king's power; ſuch are Rhodes, Samos, and Chios: but if we ſhould ſeize them firſt, it will probably happen, that Lydia, Phrygia, and all the adjacent parts, muſt be in the power of thoſe who prevent the others. Therefore we ought to loſe no time, to make, in fine, no delay, leſt we ſuffer what happened formerly to our fathers; for they, being leſs ready than the Barbarians, and having deſerted ſome of their auxiliaries, were obliged, though a few, to fight againſt an innumerable multitude; at a time when, by a quick deſcent upon the continent with all the Grecian forces, they might have ſubdued, ſeparately, every one of thoſe nations: for it is evident, the policy of war requires, in the neceſſity of reſiſting, the collected forces of a vaſt empire, that we ſhould not wait till they are all aſſembled and joined, but ſet upon them while they are divided and diſperſed; therefore, though they committed an error at firſt, yet, by their undaunted courage in danger, and by their heroic actions, they remedied their error and indiſcretion: but if we are wiſe, we ſhall take care in the beginning, and diſappoint the enemy, by firſt forming a camp near Lydia and Ionia; for the king has not the inhabitants of the continent willing ſubjects, but enſlaved only by a ſuperior preſent power: and ſhould we once tranſport better and ſtronger troops, which, if we pleaſe, we may eaſily do, we may then, I doubt it not, be maſters of all Aſia.

Now, certainly it is more for the honour of Greece, that he ſhould fight for the defence of his own capital and palace, than diſpute with us for univerſal monarchy: and, methinks, all ſhould be animated to this expedition, that this generation, which has been ſufferers by the Perſians,

ſhould indemnify, or rather reward themſelves by their ſpoils, and not conſume their lives paſſively in calamities and oppreſſion. Let the paſt time ſuffice, in which what degree of miſery and diſtreſs did we not ſuffer? And tho' human nature is ſubject to ſuch a variety of evils, we even added to this inevitable calamity, and improved all by our unnatural wars and diviſions: ſo that many periſhed in their native places by injuſtice, and others wandered in foreign parts with their wives and children; nay, ſeveral were forced, by their indigence, to enter into the ſervice of the common enemy, and fell in battle fighting againſt their very friends and countrymen: for which public calamities none hitherto have ſhewn that ſuitable grief which they ought; though they will often burſt into tears at a theatrical repreſentation, or the fable of a poet; and, at the ſame time that they ſee the terrible devaſtations of war, they can look upon all unconcerned, and without the emotions of a juſt rational commiſeration: nay, many take more pleaſure in their countrymens miſery, than their own tranquillity. What an amazing brutiſhneſs and inſenſibility is this!

And, perhaps, ſome will even ſmile at my ſimplicity, that I lament private miſeries, at a time when Italy is ruined, Sicily reduced to ſlavery, ſo many cities ſurrendered to the Barbarian, and all the remaining parts of Greece in the extremeſt danger. I wonder how thoſe, who preſide in cities, can pretend to courage and generoſity, for mere ſelf-convicting ſhame, ſince they have hitherto neither dared to ſpeak or freely think of theſe things: certainly it became men of ſuch ſtation, if they are worthy of their honours, omitting all other concerns, to have been authors of a common war againſt the Barbarians, and given, to this end, their united counſels: perhaps they would have prevailed; but had they died before the effect, they would at leaſt have left their harangues as ſo many oracles for poſterity. Now, tho' they are clad with the greateſt dignities and honours, yet they amuſe themſelves with the gratification of unworthy low paſſions, and have left to ſuch as us,

who

who are remote from public buſineſs, the deliberation and counſel about ſuch a glorious, advantageous enterprize, if happily conducted, and brought, by virtue and bravery, to a good concluſion. The more puſillanimous, then, and abject-minded our miniſters of ſtate appear, we all of us ought ſo much the more emulouſly to endeavour to put an end to our wild, unnatural diſſenſions; for, till this is effectually done, we in vain would treat of peace; we do not extinguiſh, but delay our wars, and we wait the opportunity of doing one another ſome irretrievable evil: but we ought, with all care, to baniſh from amongſt us theſe animoſities, and undertake ſuch deſigns and actions, whereby we may more ſafely inhabit our own cities, and may be more benevolently diſpoſed among ourſelves. The reaſoning neceſſary to prove the utility of my laſt propoſition, is very eaſy; for it is, I ſay, an impoſſibility to have a laſting peace, unleſs we fight, in a general alliance, againſt the Barbarians; nor ever be at union among ourſelves, unleſs we contract friendſhips betwixt our ſtates, and enter unanimouſly into war againſt the Perſians. If we do this, and remedy our preſent diſtreſſes, which are of ſuch a kind as naturally diſſolve amities, and ſet even relations at variance; and diſturb all mankind with wars and ſeditions; I ſay, if we once do this, it cannot be otherwiſe but that we muſt be united, and have a well-cemented friendſhip and concord amongſt ourſelves. To this end, we muſt, as ſoon as poſſible, transfer the war to the continent: and let us, at leaſt, enjoy this advantage from our fatal experience of the miſeries ariſing from inteſtine quarrels, that we all, as one man, turn our arms upon the eaſtern nations.

But ſome, perhaps, will object, that, upon account of treaties, we ought to be cautious, and not haſten the raiſing an army; ſince, on account of theſe treaties, the free cities look upon themſelves obliged to the king, as being by him left to govern themſelves by their own laws; and thoſe which are ſurrendered up to the Barbarians, particularly accuſe the Lacedæmonians, and others who have accepted

of the peace, as if they were by their means puſhed into ſlavery. But let ſuch tell me, why ſuch a peace ſhould not be diſſolved, whereby an opinion prevails, that the Perſian is the patron of Greece, and the guardian of its tranquillity; and, on the contrary, that ſome of our own countrymen oppreſs and ruin their native country. But this is the moſt abſurd of all, that we keep to the very conditions, which are the moſt iniquitous in theſe treaties; for thoſe agreements, whereby all the iſlands, as well as towns, ſituated in Europe, were declared free and independent, theſe have been long abrogated, and exiſt now in vain only upon pillars. As for thoſe terms, which are an infamy to us, and have ruined many of our allies, they remain fixed, and are held ſacred, which ought to be cancelled, and not ſuffered to continue in force a day. We ought to judge them impoſitions, and not free agreements; for who is ignorant, that theſe only are conventions, which are made upon equal footing betwixt the two parties? but that theſe terms are imperious commands, which oppreſs one party contrary to equity, while they exalt the other: wherefore we may juſtly blame thoſe embaſſadors, who, commiſſioned by the Greeks, made a peace ſo advantageous to the Barbarians; for it became them, had they judged it right, that each ſhould keep their own lands, and have the property of their captives, or ſhould poſſeſs what each enjoyed in the time of the laſt peace; it became them, I ſay, to have defined one or other of theſe things with impartiality, and made the treaties accordingly. Now, they have conſulted neither the honour of ours, or the city of Lacedæmon; but have conſtituted the Perſian lord of all Aſia, as if we had been fighting for his advantage, and as if the Perſian empire had been founded of old, but we had only of late inhabited our cities; and not according to truth, as if they had but lately acquired this honour, but we had, in every age, the precedency in Greece. I believe I ſhall demonſtrate beſt, in the following manner, the indignity done us, and the encroachment of the Barbarians: The whole world being divided into two parts,

parts, the one Asia, and the other Europe, he has acquired, by convention, the half, as sharing the globe with Jupiter, and not having it allowed by the covenants of men: he has obliged us, after having engraved them on stone-pillars, to fix these infamous treaties in our public temples, a nobler trophy than is erected for a victory: such trophies are often raised for inconsiderable actions, or one event of war; but these monuments are so many public assertions of his superiority in the whole war, and over all Greece. Certainly we ought to resent such a glaring injury, meditate how we may take revenge, and prevent such abuses for the future; for it is a shame to have the Barbarians as slaves in our houses, and suffer so many friends and allies to be enslaved by them. Those who fought in the Trojan war, on account of the rape of one woman, were so inflamed with resentment, that they would not desist, till they had levelled the city of the ravisher with the dust, and left not a mark of its situation; but we are so far from such a noble courage, that though all Greece has been ignominiously injured, yet we have taken no public vengeance, though we might have such success in the enterprize, as we ourselves could wish in retaliation; for a war with the Persians is the only war more eligible than peace, and would be more like an agreeable spectacle than a military expedition: it would likewise be advantageous to both sorts of Grecians, both those who delight in peace, and those who love action and war; for the first might most securely, by this means, enjoy their possessions, and the latter amass riches and plenty by the spoil of the Barbarians.

If any one will make a serious reflection upon what I have said, and turn his thoughts on all sides, he will find such conduct the most beneficial for our country; for, in the first place, against whom would such make war, who are above injustice, and have nothing but reason and equity in their view? Would it not certainly be against those, who have frequently oppressed Greece, are now forming pernicious designs against it, and were always in the same dispo-

diſpoſition? Again, Whom is it juſt for thoſe who are not cowards, though they would make war with moderation, to envy, but ſuch as aſſume to themſelves more than human power and honours, though they are unworthy of an equal degree of happineſs with our diſtreſſed countrymen? Againſt whom, I ſay, ought thoſe to bear arms, who either regard religion and piety towards the gods, or utility and their own emolument and advantage? Is it not againſt ſuch as are naturally enemies, the haters of our country and its laws, and, at the ſame time poſſeſs thoſe enormous riches, which they dare not bravely to defend? Are they not, upon all theſe accounts, worthy of our utmoſt proſecution? Certainly they are. Nor ſhall we diſtreſs any of our cities, by raiſing forces in them, which was an odious undertaking, and juſtly, in our civil wars; for I think thoſe will be fewer, who chuſe to ſtay at home, than thoſe who will be eager to join in the expedition. Who is too young, or too old, who would not be glad to have a ſhare in an expedition, conducted by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, for the liberty of all our countrymen and allies, while Greece is united to take revenge on the cruelties of the Barbarians? Now, what everlaſting fame and glory muſt thoſe who ſurvive, or thoſe that die, obtain, that behave with the greateſt bravery in ſuch a noble enterprize? For if theſe who took revenge on Paris, and overthrew one city, received ſuch extraordinary praiſe, what encomiums may they hope for, who ſhall conquer all Aſia? Is there a poet, or an orator, who will not labour, who will not do his utmoſt, by his eloquence and knowledge, to ſhew both his own exalted ſentiments, and immortalize ſuch heroic valour and virtue?

I OWN, I have not the ſame thought I had in the beginning of this oration: I imagined then, that I could ſpeak worthily of my ſubject; but I am now ſenſible I cannot equal its dignity, and that many things have eſcaped me, that ſhould have been mentioned. You therefore ſhould conſider, as well as I do, what great happineſs we ſhall be poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed of, if we change our inteſtine wars into a noble war againſt the Aſiatics, and transfer their riches and luxurious plenty into Europe: I ſay, we ſhould believe this, nor, after hearing this oration, go away unconcerned; but whoever amongſt us are capable, ſhould do their utmoſt to reconcile Athens and Lacedæmon: and all orators ſhould deſiſt from other trifling harangues about the concerns of private life, and endeavour to enflame their countrymen with more heroic ſentiments than I have in the preſent diſcourſe, with which I have entertained this aſſembly; judging it beneath truly learned men, and affectionate to their country, to make ſuch harangues, as will not better the ſtate and lives of their hearers, but ſuch whereby the preſent public diſtreſs will be remedied, and they become authors of the greateſt national happineſs.

THE

THE FIFTH

ORATION

OF

ISOCRATES,

ADDRESSED TO

KING PHILIP.

The SUBJECT.

THERE are two chief parts of this oration: the first, as in the Panegyric, has in view the reconciliation of the Grecian cities; the other, a common expedition against the Barbarians. The praise of Philip is but accessory, as inducive to interest him in such a glorious enterprize, being the propereſt person to cement all parties in amity, and conduct the united forces of Greece.

THE FIFTH ORATION of ISOCRATES, ADDRESSED TO KING PHILIP.

WONDER not, O Philip! that I draw not the exordium of this diſcourſe from my preſent ſubject, and deſigned oration, but from that diſcourſe which was written before, on account of Amphipolis. Let me premiſe a few words, that I may ſhew to you and others, how it was not out of imprudence, or a ſickly fancy, occaſioned by my ill ſtate of health, that I have preſumed to ſend you this oration; but for ſolid reaſons, and after mature conſideration: for having obſerved the war which happened betwixt you and our city, on account of Amphipolis, to have been the cauſe of many calamities, I endeavoured to ſpeak in ſuch a manner concerning this city, and the adjacent country, as none of your friends, or our orators, have done before me, but in as different a method as poſſible. They exhorted both to war, in compliance with your inclinations: I have not touched at all upon things leſs evident, and in diſpute; but I have omitted none of thoſe reaſons which I thought the moſt conducive to peace, and a mutual good underſtanding betwixt both ſtates, proving, that you both equally miſtake your real intereſts; that you are fighting for our advantage, and we

we to encreaſe your power. It is indeed your advantage to have an authority in the neighbouring region, but not prudence in us to take this city by force: and, methinks, I have ſo handled theſe topics, that none will ſo much praiſe this oration, upon account of the purity and accuracy of the ſtile, as ſome have been accuſtomed to do my other orations; but they will more eſteem the ſolid reaſons and matters of fact inſerted in it, whereby I make it evident, that there is no poſſibility of putting an end to our unhappy contentions, unleſs you yourſelf become convinced, that the friendſhip of our city is of more value than any revenues which can ariſe to you from the poſſeſſion of Amphipolis; and unleſs our city be once perſuaded, that they ought not to be deſirous of making ſuch colonies, where the inhabitants have three or four times ſucceſſively been ruined; but pitch upon thoſe places, which are removed from all ſuch as may oppreſs them, but near to ſuch as are accuſtomed to ſlavery. In ſuch a place the Lacedæmonians eſtabliſhed a colony at Cyrenæ. Now, I hope, I ſhall not fail of my preſent deſign, if you are perſuaded, that tho' in words you ſurrender the city to us, yet you will ſtill, in fact, be maſter of it, and gain our perpetual friendſhip beſides; for you will have as many hoſtages of our friendſhip, as we ſhall ſend perſons from hence into the neighbourhood of your kingdom. I will endeavour to perſuade our multitude to believe, as they ſhould, that if we take Amphipolis, we ſhall ſtill be as much obliged to keep up a good underſtanding with you, and favour all your deſigns, upon account of our citizens there, as we were obliged to maintain a correſpondence with Medocus in old times, upon account of our huſbandmen in the Cherſoneſus. Such being the reaſons I propoſed to my fellow-citizens, towards an amicable accommodation, all that heard them hoped, that, ſhould my diſcourſe be diſperſed, we ſhould compoſe our preſent differences, and, with emulation, conſult ſome common good. Wherefore, whether they judged prudently thus or not, I think it is but juſt they ſhould be reſponſible themſelves for me.

me. While I had my thoughts employed about this deſign, you both prevented me, before I had finiſhed my diſcourſe, by concluding a peace with great and laudable prudence; for, upon any terms, peace was better for both, than thoſe calamities which both were diſtreſſed with by ſo deſtructive a war. Being on this occaſion filled with joy, for the ratification of a wiſhed-for peace, and judging it would not only be beneficial to us, but to all Greece, I could not deſiſt entirely from my firſt deſign; but I reſolved to conſider the method of making our happineſs laſting, and thereby prevent our city from breathing but a ſmall time, in order to re-commence again the ſame ſcenes of confuſion. Reflecting, as I ſaid, upon ſuch a method, I found it would be in vain to hope Athens would long continue quiet, unleſs the chief cities of Greece, being united, and forgetting all enmity, ſhould transfer the war into Aſia, and there endeavour to gain by valour all thoſe rewards of bravery, which they have ſo long cruelly ſought for in their own country. And though I have treated of the ſame ſubject in my oration called the Panegyric, yet, judging I could never find out a nobler hypotheſis, nor more recommended by novelty, or conducive to public, univerſal good, I have reſolved to attempt the ſame topic once more; tho' I am not ignorant of my own circumſtances, and that ſuch an oration does not ſo well ſuit with a perſon of my advanced age, but rather requires a perſon in the very bloſſom and vigour of life, and who ſurpaſſes others in the excellency of his genius. Add to this, I am thoroughly ſenſible of the difficulty of writing twice upon the ſame ſubject; eſpecially when my former publiſhed diſcourſe has been ſo diligently laboured, that my very rivals, though they envy, imitate it, and, in fact, admire it more than thoſe who beſtow on it the moſt exaggerated praiſes: but, taking courage under all theſe diſadvantages, I am ſo inflamed, in my old age, with the love of glory, as to entertain the hope of making it clear both to thoſe who ſpeak with you, and thoſe who converſe with me as diſciples, that to be noiſy in public aſſemblies, and ha-

rangue a gathered multitude, is at beſt but talking to the wind: for ſuch orations are juſt as vain as thoſe idle laws and forms of government, which have been invented by dreaming ſophiſts and philoſophers. But it becomes thoſe, who would not trifle to no purpoſe, but effect ſome good, and benefit the public, to let others make popular harangues, while they pitch upon ſome perſon capable of putting in practice their advice, who can enforce it by their eloquence and actions; I ſay, they ought to chuſe out ſuch a one, if they can find any poſſeſſed of this exalted excellence: which I being ſenſible of, choſe to direct my diſcourſe to you; not ſeeking to model it with a view of gaining your favour, which, notwithſtanding I own, I ſhould ſet a juſt and high value on; but my true reaſon was, becauſe I ſaw many of great capacity living in ſuch republics, and under ſuch ſevere laws, that they could act nothing, but by orders; beſides, I ſaw them unequal to the taſk of ſuch an arduous undertaking, as I ſhall mention; while I perceived you inveſted with an abſolute power of ſending embaſſadors to whom you pleaſed, and admitting them with the ſame freedom, as well as declaring, without the leaſt reſtraint, your wiſeſt ſentiments. Beſides, I am conſcious, that you ſurpaſs all the Grecians in power and riches, which ſuperiority is particularly proper for perſuaſion or compulſion; and I am equally convinced, that what I ſhall ſay, will need both, before it can be executed: for it is my purpoſe to exhort you to reconcile the Greeks, and head them, as general, againſt the Barbarians. To perſuade you to head the common army, is certainly to defer to you the higheſt honours, and to engage my country in a war with Aſia, is evidently to conſult the public good. The whole ſcope of my oration, then, is theſe two points.

I SHALL not here conceal from you, that ſome of my friends have given me ſome trouble upon this ſubject; and I think it will not be foreign to my purpoſe. I no ſooner told them, that I deſigned to ſend you an oration, that would not be a mere diſplay of eloquence, or an encomium

of

of your paſt wars (for others will be forward enough to do this), but an exhortation to nobler and more glorious actions, and worthier of, as well as more beneficial to you, than thoſe you are now engaged in, but they were ſo amazed, that they gave me openly to underſtand, that they were afraid leſt I was become delirious by age; and, what they had never done before, began to reproach me for undertaking a raſh, thoughtleſs enterprize, to give my private advice to Philip; who, ſhould he formerly have imagined ſome other prudenter than himſelf, muſt certainly, after ſuch great ſucceſsful actions, believe none now ſo capable of a ſolid judgment, in public affairs, as himſelf. Beſides, continued they, there are conſtantly with him the wiſeſt Macedonians, who, tho' they ſhould not be ſo experienced in ſome things, yet muſt ſurely be allowed to know better than you what is moſt conducive to his intereſt and glory. There are likewiſe, at his court, many Grecians of diſtinguiſhed abilities, by communicating his ſentiments with whom, he has not leſſened his kingdom, but enlarged it in a manner worthy of his wiſhes. What has he failed of? Has he not ſo humbled and brought over to his intereſt the Theſſalians, who formerly ruled over the Macedonians, that they have more confidence in him than their own countrymen? As for the neighbouring cities, has he not made ſome of them his auxiliaries, by his kind actions and generoſity, and eraſed others, who obſtinately oppoſed him? Has he not conquered the Magneſians, the Perrhebei, and the Paeonians, and taken them under his protection and obedience? Is he not become lord and maſter of all the Illyrians, except thoſe who inhabit the Adriatic coaſt? Has he not conſtituted governors in Thrace, whom he pleaſed? Will not ſuch a potentate, who has performed ſuch wonders, condemn the folly of that perſon, who will ſend him a pamphlet, and think he neither knows the power of eloquence, or of his own genius? What my ſurprize was, when I firſt heard this, and what my anſwers, when I had a little recollected myſelf, I ſhall omit here, leſt

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I ſhould ſeem to ſeek my own praiſe; for having confuted them with civility; having made them thoroughly ſenſible of their miſtake (for ſo I judged), who had at firſt blamed me, I promiſed them, that I would ſhew my oration to them alone of all our citizens, and would do nothing in this reſpect, but by their advice. Having heard this anſwer, they left me, I know not with what real ſentiments; but, in a few days, they came to me again, and I having finiſhed the diſcourſe, ſhewed it to them. On a ſudden they were ſo changed, that they ſeemed aſhamed of their former reaſoning and reprehenſion of my deſign: they acknowledged, that they had never been ſo miſtaken in a thing of ſuch conſequence; and, upon this, exhorted me to ſend you as ſoon as poſſible this oration. They added, that they hoped, that you and our city would have a ſenſe of gratitude to me; nor only you, but all Greece, for ſuch a noble intention. For this reaſon, I have ſaid ſo much by way of preface to you, that, if any thing in the beginning ſhould appear either not credible, impoſſible, or unworthy of your undertaking, you might not be averted from reading the reſt, nor indulge the ſame precipitancy as my acquaintance, but wait the concluſion with an equitable attention; for I hope to ſay what becomes me, and will be advantageous to you, as well as glorious. But I am not ignorant, how far a diſcourſe, that is read, falls ſhort of one that is heard, in the efficacy of perſuaſion; yet it is by no means true, what ſome pretend, that the latter ſort of diſcourſes have in view ſome generous and urgent actions, but the firſt have only oſtentation, and a proſpect of reward. The diſadvantage tho' of a read diſcourſe is certainly great; for when an oration is deprived of the authority of the ſpeaker, of his voice, the frequent popular emotions on theſe occaſions, likewiſe of the criſis of time, and the public zeal for the undertaking, while nothing is aſſiſting or ſtrengthening the argument; when an oration, I ſay, is ſtripped of all theſe circumſtances, and only read with an even voice, without affection, and the diſtinction of the writer's zeal and character;

racter; I say, in this case, it is no wonder, if a well-written discourse appears flat, and no ways interesting to the hearers. Which prejudice must affect my present oration, and render it of less weight and authority. Nor have I ornamented it so much as usual with figurative diction and numbers, which I used in my youth, and shewed others, by example, how they might, at the same time, make their discourses both more agreeable and persuasive; which, by reason of my age, I cannot now effect. But it will be sufficient, perhaps, if I explain my reasons with perspicuity: and I judge indeed, that it becomes you to neglect all the rest, and only attend, in a harangue, to the solidity of the motives; for, by this means, you will best judge of the utility of our discourses, if you stop not at the difficulties in the writings of sophists, and the disadvantages of a reader, but, upon a thorough knowledge, weigh the truth and reasons of a discourse, and not do so slightly, or with a weak attention, but with the justest prudence and logical philosophy, which, they say, you are well acquainted with; for, examining our writings in this manner, you will judge better of them than by popular opinion. I here conclude all I have to say by way of preface, and now I shall proceed to the facts, and subject of my discourse.

I SAY, you ought to neglect neither your own interests or glory, but endeavour to reconcile, as a common friend, the cities of Argos, Lacedæmon, Thebes, and Athens; for if you once effect this, I believe, you will have little difficulty of bringing the rest to a good understanding: for all are dependent on these, and have recourse to some one of them for succours, when they are afraid, or distressed; so that if you happily reconcile four cities only, you free all the rest from dreadful calamities. You will find, that you ought to despise none of them, if you consider their actions towards your ancestors; for you will perceive, in each of them, a great friendship for your house, and a great many benefits previous to any obligations: for Argos is your country, which you ought, in justice, to make the same

account of as of your own parents. The Thebans honour the head of your family with revenues and ſacrifices above all the other gods; and the Lacedæmonians have committed their kingdom and government to his poſterity, for all ſucceſſive generations. Now they ſay, that our city (if we will believe antient hiſtory) was the cauſe of Hercules's immortalization (which you muſt have heard of, but it is not a place here for me to prove its truth), and the ſafety of his children; for Athens alone, hazarding the greateſt dangers againſt the forces of Euryſtheus, put a ſtop to his injuſtice, and freed Hercules's deſcendents from a perpetual ſucceſſion of dangers: for which preſervation there was certainly a juſt gratitude due to us not only from thoſe who were in that time ſaved, but from thoſe now living; for it is by us they live, and enjoy all their proſperity: and, had not their anceſtors been ſaved by us, they themſelves could never have had an exiſtence. And ſince all the cities have been ſuch towards you, you ought carefully always to have avoided every difference with them: but it is too natural for us all to commit errors, oftner than do perfectly juſt and wiſe actions. What has happened before, we ought not to impute to any particular, but take the utmoſt care that nothing of a like nature happen for the future. And it becomes you to conſider by what generous actions done thoſe cities, you may ſeem to behave towards them worthily of yourſelf, and their deſerts in your regard. You have now the opportunity; for if you ſhew your gratitude, all will think (upon account of the long intervening time), that you confer on them unmerited favour; and it is glorious to be judged the benefactor of great cities, and, at the ſame time, noways prejudice yourſelf, but do yourſelf an equal good. Beſides other advantages, you will likewiſe gain this, that, if you have ever given any of them umbrage, you will, by this means, the moſt efficaciouſly diſſipate it: for, preſent generous actions will eaſily induce an oblivion of our former mutual offences: and, beſides, it is certain, that all men have the livelieſt memory of thoſe good deeds, which

which are done them in any great adverſity. You ſee clearly what they have ſuffered by war, and in how near a caſe they were to thoſe of private, fighting perſons; for ſuch, when their mutual reſentments are high, it is out of the power of any one to reconcile: but when they have diſabled each other, tho' no one intervenes to compoſe the quarrels, they themſelves put an end to their broils; which, I believe, will be the caſe of theſe cities, if you take them not under your conſideration. Perhaps ſome perſons will reprehend my aſſertions, and affirm, that I adviſe you to undertake impoſſibilities; that, in fact, neither the Argives can ever become ſincere friends to the Lacedæmonians, nor the Lacedæmonians to the Thebans, nor any of thoſe who have always been accuſtomed to encroach upon their neighbours, be content with an equality with their countrymen. I own, when our city had the pre-eminency, and afterwards the Lacedæmonians, I own, I did not think any thing of this nature could be executed; for either of them would have eaſily diſappointed the beſt concerted counſels: but I have not the ſame ſentiments of our public affairs now; for I perceive all are equalled by their misfortunes: ſo that I judge they will be ready to embrace a common good from concord, rather than the advantages of injuſtice from actions of a like nature with their former. I readily alſo acknowledge, that no other but you can reconcile theſe cities, but that this taſk is not difficult for you; on the contrary, it is very eaſy: for I ſee, that you have effected many things, which moſt men thought impoſſible; ſo that it is not improbable, but that you can bring this enterprize to a happy concluſion. Now, it certainly becomes thoſe who excel, and have exalted ideas, to undertake ſuch deſigns, which the lower claſs of mankind are not capable of, but ſuch as exceed the abilities of others, who have neither your genius nor power. I wonder that any will aſſert, that this undertaking is impracticable; they muſt be very ignorant, if they neither know this, nor have heard it from others, that, when any calamitous wars have happened, thoſe, who

mutually put an end to them, were the cauſes of inexpreſſible good to all parties. What can be imagined greater than the hatred all Greece had of Xerxes? and yet, afterwards, both we and the Lacedæmonians ſhewed him more affection than we did to thoſe very perſons who helped to eſtabliſh both our republics. But I need not, methinks, mention antient tranſactions, or ſuch as relate to the Barbarians; for if we caſt an eye back, and conſider all the variety of public diſaſters, none of them will be found to have happened to us, comparable to thoſe cauſed by the Thebans and Lacedæmonians: but, nevertheleſs, when the Lacedæmonians raiſed an army againſt the Thebans, with a deſign of deſolating Bœotia, and ruining its cities, by our interpoſition they were fruſtrated of their deſigns; and when again circumſtances were ſo changed, that the Thebans and all the Peloponneſians conſpired to ruin Sparta, we alone, of all Greece, aſſiſting them, were the cauſe of its preſervation. Now, a perſon muſt be very imprudent, if, after conſidering ſuch variety of accidents, and that our cities have ſet light by hatred, violation of oaths, &c. nor regarded any thing elſe but what they imagine conducive to their private views; I ſay, a perſon muſt be very imprudent to think they do not continue in the ſame ſentiments now; but that, if you will interpoſe by your mediation, they will eaſily liſten to a general reconciliation; eſpecially ſince their preſent calamities almoſt oblige them to ſuch an accommodation: I judge therefore, that ſuch circumſtances concurring, this deſign may be eaſily effected. Now, I likewiſe imagine, that you may beſt acquaint yourſelf with the peaceful or contrary diſpoſition of the Grecian cities, if we examine not lightly, nor yet too accurately, the condition of their reſpective ſtates, but the moſt important of the preſent circumſtances.

Let us firſt conſider the Lacedæmonian ſtate: It is not long ſince they, who governed all Greece, met with ſuch an unexpected change, after their defeat at Leuctræ, that they entirely loſt the principality of Greece: they were then deprived

deprived of such noble-minded citizens, as rather chose to die than survive the loss of power, and be subject to those they had governed. Add to this, that, tho' they were accustomed to see the Peloponnesians always aggressing others along with them, they now saw them making, with the Thebans, an incursion into their own lands, whom they were obliged to fight with, not on account of their fruits, but of their very city and palace, and in defence of their very wives and children; and, had they been worsted there, they must have entirely perished: and tho' they conquered, yet they were not freed from misery; but are now attacked by their very borderers: they are distrusted by all the Peloponnesians; they are hated by the generality of Greece, and they are plundered and robbed night and day by their own slaves: nor have they any intermission, but are either levying forces, or fighting against some neighbour, or else assisting their own countrymen, that daily perish. And what is the dreadfullest calamity is, that they are always in fear lest the Thebans, making a composition with the Phocenses, should return again into their country, and do them more damage than they even did at their first invasion. And how can we imagine, but that persons, in this miserable situation, will eagerly embrace the authority of a person, who is capable of commanding a peace, and putting an end to these present calamitous wars. You may likewise perceive the Argives to be in very near the same circumstances as the Lacedæmonians, and, in some respects, in a worse situation; for ever since they have inhabited their city, they have continual wars and contentions with their neighbours: but there is this remarkable difference to be noted, that the Lacedæmonians commonly fought against their inferiors, but the Argives had to struggle with their superiors; which must be allowed by all to be the most miserable of all calamities. Add, that they are so unfortunate, as to see almost annually their country laid waste and plundered of its products: and what is an aggravation of their miseries is, that, when the enemy retires and leaves them,

them, they persecute one another, and destroy the richest and most distinguished amongst them; and when they have done this, they rejoice as much as others, when they have vanquished their enemies. Now, nothing is the cause of their confusion, but war; which if you put an end to, your not only recover them from this gulf of miseries, but render them capable of a better regulation in all other respects. As for the Theban affairs, you are perfectly acquainted with them; for tho' they gained a glorious victory, and acquired a high reputation, yet, upon account of the misuse of their advantages, they are in no better a condition than the conquered and unsuccessful; for they had no sooner conquered their enemies, but, neglecting all things, they disturbed the cities of Peloponnesus, dared even to enslave Thessaly, and threatened the Megarenses their neighbours: they deprived our city of a part of its territory, and laid waste all Eubœa; nay, they sent gallies to Byzantium, as if they designed to rule both by sea and land. Lastly, they made war upon the Phocenses, expecting soon to possess themselves of all the cities and neighbouring country, and surpass the money reposited at Delphi in their private expences; nothing of which did they bring to a conclusion: but, before they could take the Phocensian cities, they lost their own; and, making an incursion upon their enemy's soil, they suffered more distress, before they got back again, than they caused to their opponents. In Phocis they killed, indeed, a few mercenaries, who ought to chuse death rather than life; but, retreating, they lost the bravest and most resolute of all their troops, which dared to die in their country's cause: and, in fine, their conduct has concluded in this, that, after hoping to have rendered themselves masters of Greece, now they place all their confidence of safety in your protection; so that I no ways doubt but they will most readily follow your orders.

It would now remain for me to speak of our city; but, being early wiser than others, it has already made peace. I likewise no ways call in question, but it will readily second your

your deſigns in the public cauſe; eſpecially if it ſees, that you eſtabliſh a general concord, before you make war on the Barbarians: wherefore, that it is not impoſſible for you to unite theſe cities by alliance, I think, is evident by what I have already mentioned.

Now, that you may eaſily effect this, I do not doubt but I can make clear by inconteſtable precedents and examples; for if it is certain, that ſeveral of our anceſtors undertook neither more glorious or juſt actions, than thoſe which I have adviſed you to, and overcame greater obſtacles and difficulties than are in your way, what can my adverſaries have to ſay, that you ſhould not ſooner effect what is eaſier, than they did more arduous and unpromiſing enterprizes? Let us, if you pleaſe, firſt conſider the actions of Alcibiades; for he, falling into diſgrace with our citizens, and perceiving, that thoſe before him, who met with the like misfortune, was, as it were, thunder-ſtruck with the power of the city, reſolved not to ſink under the ſame deſpair, but thought it became him to attempt his return by force, and he choſe, rather than ſubmit, to make war againſt it. To mention every tranſaction of that time, and deſcend to particulars, would perhaps exceed any one's ability; or, could it be done, would be irkſome: in a word, he cauſed incredible diſorder in our city, and great diſtreſs and miſery to the Lacedæmonians, and the reſt of Greece. As for our city, all know what we ſuffered; and the reſt of Greece had ſuch a ſhare of calamities, that, I believe, the dreadful conſequences of that public and univerſal ſhock are not yet obliterated. As for the Lacedæmonians, who then flouriſhed, and had great authority, they, by his means, fell into their preſent misfortunes; for, by his perſuaſion to affect the ſovereignty at ſea, they loſt even their leading power upon land: ſo that whoever affirms, that they may juſtly date all their loſſes from that time, when they aſſumed authority upon the ſea, will be found to ſpeak nothing contrary to truth and experience. Alcibiades, therefore, having been the cauſe of ſuch public calamities,

mities, returned to Athens, praised indeed by some excessively, but not so by all. Conon, not many years after, did what was similar to this; for, meeting with a defeat in a sea-fight at the Hellespont, not by his own mismanagement, but on account of the joint-commissioned officers, he was ashamed to return home: but, sailing into Cyprus, he continued there some time to settle his private affairs, and understanding that Agesilaus was gone into Asia with great forces, and wasted the country, he entertained this elevated hope, that, tho' he had nothing to depend upon but himself, and his great genius, he still believed he might humble the Lacedæmonians, who then governed the Grecians both by sea and land. He sent his proposals to the Persian generals, and promised to effect the Lacedæmonians overthrow. I need not say more here; for he got together, by this means, a fleet near Cnidos, conquered in a sea-battle, deposed the Lacedæmonians, destroyed their usurped authority, and freed the states of Greece: not did he only rebuild the walls of his native city, but he restored it to its former splendor, and renewed its antient magnificence and liberty. Who would have imagined, that, by this man, once in so low a condition, all the face of affairs should be entirely changed throughout all Greece; that some of the cities should be ignominiously reduced, and others raised and exalted in power and dignity? And Dionysius (for I would persuade you by many examples) proves, that what I advise you to, is not difficult for you; for tho' he was no ways distinguished in Syracuse by his family, honours, or other circumstances, yet, upon his aspiring rashly to monarchy, and daring to undertake and execute every thing he thought conducive to this purpose, he seized Syracuse, and overthrew all the Grecian cities that were in Sicily. He, at last, acquired such horse and foot-forces, as none that went before him there had ever done. Let me here mention the Barbarians: did not Cyrus, tho' exposed by his mother, and taken up by a Persian woman, cause such an alteration, that he became absolute lord of all Asia? Now, if Alcibiades,

biades, who was a fugitive, Conon unfortunate, Dionyſius not noble, and the birth of Cyrus ſo calamitous to him; I ſay, notwithſtanding all theſe perſons were in ſuch inferior circumſtances to you, if they yet performed ſuch unexpected wonders, how can you imagine, but that you, who are deſcended from ſuch anceſtors, king likewiſe of Macedonia, lord beſides of many territories, but that you, I ſay, will eaſily reduce to practice my counſel?

JUDGE now yourſelf, how worthy it is of your preeminency, to equal the glory of the greateſt heroes: but, ſhould you miſcarry, you will gain, however, the univerſal benevolence of all Greece; which is a far nobler acquiſition than the taking, by force of arms, many cities; for ſuch actions, tho' ſucceſsful, draw after them envy, diſaffection, and many reproaches: but there is no apprehenſion of any ſuch conſequences in this caſe. And would any god give you an option of the manner in which you would paſs your life, I judge none more worthy of you than the continual endeavour of putting in execution ſuch a glorious project; for you will not only deſerve the emulation of others, but muſt neceſſarily believe yourſelf happy. What acceſſion can be made to ſuch a felicity? when the moſt conſiderable men will come from the moſt flouriſhing cities into your dominions, and you, along with them, will conſult the public good; you, who excel others in prudence, and muſt certainly ſee Greece proſper under your direction. None of the Greeks will deſpiſe your conduct; but ſome zealouſly enquire about your deſigns; others pray perpetually to heaven for your ſucceſs; and others, in fine, be apprehenſive of your mortality, before you can finiſh ſuch exalted enterprizes. How can you do otherwiſe than, in the very deſign, have the moſt heroic ideas, and live the moſt happy life in the execution, by the conſciouſneſs of ſuch grand actions? What perſon, who is but moderately endued with reaſon, would not encourage you to the undertaking of ſuch actions, as are capable of cauſing you both theſe effects, as ſubſequent fruits, ſuperlative, noble plea-

ſure,

ſure, and diſtinguiſhed glory. I now judge I have ſaid enough, had I not omitted a part, not out of oblivion, but timidity, which I here purpoſe to ſupply; for I think it is proper you ſhould be acquainted with my thoughts, and that I ſhould ſpeak with that modeſt freedom, which is cuſtomary to me in my orations.

For I perceive you are calumniated by thoſe who envy you, who are accuſtomed to throw their own cities into convulſions, and have a greater love of wars and confuſion than peace; who neglect the œconomy of their own national affairs, and are continually haranguing againſt your power, as if all your actions tended to nothing elſe but your ſole encreaſe; and that, for a conſiderable time, you have been in a kind of ambuſh againſt all Greece; that you pretend indeed to aſſiſt the Meſſenians, if you once ſettle your affairs with the Phocenſes; but that, in reality, you deſign to reduce all Peloponneſus under your power; that the Theſſalians, the Thebans, and all the Amphictyones, are ready to follow you; that the Argives, the Meſſenians, and Megalopolitans, and many others, aſſiſt your deſigns, and ruin the Lacedæmonians: and, in fine, that, if you effect your preſent views, you will then eaſily ſubject all Greece. While they wantonly, out of impotency of tongue, aſſert this as known truth, they ſpread ſuch reports every-where, and perſuade a great many, who are as deſirous of the ſame confuſion as themſelves; they likewiſe influence ſuch as have no care of the republic, but, favouring their own indolence, eſteem themſelves obliged to thoſe who pretend to be full of fear and ſollicitude for their good: laſtly, they have prevalency with ſuch alſo, as think not the deſign of deſpotiſm beneath you, but worthy of a great mind; who are ſo far from a juſt notion of things, that they perceive not, how, with the ſame ſuppoſitions, we may highly injure one, and praiſe another perſon, as happens in this caſe. For example; ſhould any orator ſay of the Aſiatic king, that he has a hoſtile mind againſt Greece, and is raiſing an army to that purpoſe, he

would say nothing disgraceful of him, but would suppose him more valiant, and of greater moment than he is: but should any one say the same of a descendent of Hercules, who was a benefactor to all Greece, he would cover him with dishonour; for who would not grieve, who would not be filled with indignation, if such an exalted person should attempt a thing of such a nature? He, whose ancestor exposed himself to such dangers for Greece, while, by such contrary behaviour, his descendent would quit that generosity of soul, which he left as an example to his posterity, and, forgetting his true glory, affect infamous and base actions. Wherefore, it concerns you to stifle such insinuations, as your enemies industriously endeavour to spread of your intentions, tho' you have not a friend but will readily contradict such unjust assertions; and you may clearly distinguish what is for your real interests, by their different sentiments. Perhaps you will imagine, that it shews pusillanimity to regard trifling calumniators, and such as listen to them, especially while you are conscious of no ungenerous thought or proceeding; but you ought not to despise the multitude, nor set light by universal esteem and approbation: but, then, judge you have ascended the highest point of human happiness and glory, such as is becoming yourself and ancestors, when, by your actions, you have so disposed all Greece towards you, as you see the Lacedæmonians towards their kings, and your own friends towards yourself. It is not difficult to attain this felicity, if you will be an impartial mediator, and cease favouring some cities, while you are severe to others: in a word, if you do every thing, whereby you may gain the confidence of the Grecians, and strike a terror into the Barbarians.

And do not wonder, that I wrote to Dionysius the tyrant, and now write to you, who am neither a general, a public orator, or, in other respects, a powerful person; wonder not, that I speak to you more freely than perhaps others dare, or I would do, did I not know your noble qualities; for I never had a sufficient voice or resolution

to

to face the multitude, and be beſpattered with opprobrious language by mercenary lawyers and ſtate orators: but, as for the ſtudy of wiſdom and prudence, though ſome may think what I am going to ſay, vanity, I will dare to aſſert it, that I am not inferior in ſuch qualities, but may rank myſelf amongſt the moſt induſtrious and eminent; wherefore I undertake to give counſel, in this manner, according to my talents, to my city, the other Grecians, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed of mankind. What relates to myſelf, and what I judge proper for you, in your high ſtation, to do in regard of other Grecians, you have almoſt heard ſufficiently; but, concerning the alliance againſt Perſia, I think it then a proper time to adviſe the cities, which I wiſhed united, when I ſee them made friends by mutual concord: but I will now addreſs my words to you, though not with the ſame ſentiments as when I treated of this ſubject before. I then gave the audience leave to explode and deſpiſe me, if I did not ſpeak worthily of ſuch an arduous theme, and of all the time I might have employed in the acquiſition of eloquence; but now I am afraid, leſt I ſpeak much inferior to even what I have ſaid upon the ſame topic: for the Panegyric, which taught thoſe who ſtudy philoſophy a more diffuſe and copious way of writing, cauſed me no ſmall difficulty in the execution; nor would I willingly now ſay again the ſame things, nor can I eaſily invent other arguments: but yet I ought not to deſiſt, but mention what preſents itſelf ſtill to me on this important ſubject, and ſeems likely to perſuade you to undertake this great deſign; though I ſhould not be able to equal what I have written before, yet it is my duty, for the public good, to draw the outlines, to be finiſhed and compleated by ſuch as are more capable.

I THINK, I have made that beginning of my diſcourſe, which it becomes thoſe who would perſuade to a noble, general conſpiracy againſt the tyranny of Aſia; for, certainly, it is not prudence to undertake any thing of this nature, until the leader has either all Greece aſſiſting him, or, at leaſt,

leaſt, wiſhing proſperity to his undertaking; which Ageſilaus, who was thought the wiſeſt of the Lacedæmonians, neglected, not indeed out of a malevolent view, but out of the love of honour; for he had two ambitions, both indeed noble, but ſuch as could not be gratified together: he was deſirous of making war againſt the Perſian, to introduce, by arms, his friends into his cities, and make them maſters of the country. Now, it happened, by reaſon of this ſeparate affection for his friends, that the affairs of Greece were thrown into diſorder and convulſion; for, by the tumult which aroſe at home, he could not be at liberty to fight againſt the Barbarians: ſo that it is evident, from the unhappy ignorance of that time, that it ought to be the firſt and chief care of him, who would ſucceſsfully attack the eaſtern monarch, to reconcile the Greeks, and cure them of their popular frenzy; which is the ſcope and intent of my advice to you. Now, I am perſuaded, that no one, who loves his country, will blame me; I am more afraid by far, that I have hitherto ſpoken unworthily, and not in ſuch an animated manner, as I ought of my ſubject: I judge, that whoever have ſpoken on this topic, and exhorted Greece to a war with the Barbarians, have hitherto only mentioned theſe reaſons, that, by ſuch an enterprize, they would all become of obſcure, univerſally known and glorious; of poor and indigent, maſters of many provinces and cities; and, in a word, abound with all affluence. But I ſhall not uſe thoſe arguments, in order to perſuade you, but even introduce examples of ſuch as ſeem to have been unfortunate; I mean thoſe who fought under Cyrus and Clearchus. It is allowed by all, that they overthrew in battle all the king's forces, with as much eaſe as if they had encountered ſo many women; and when fortune ſeemed entirely in their hands, were ruined by the raſhneſs and precipitancy of Cyrus: for, being elate with joy, and purſuing eagerly before the reſt, he fell, ſurrounded ſuddenly by the enemies: but, after ſuch a calamity, the king was ſo diffident of his troops, and had ſuch a ſettled contempt of

them, that, inviting Clearchus, and the other captains, to a parley, he promiſed them extraordinary gifts, and all the ſoldiers their full pay, before their departure. Having thus deluded them by his promiſes, and whatever ſecurity Clearchus required, he, at unawares, ſeized upon, and cruelly murdered them, to ſatiate his revenge: and in this daring, impious manner, he choſe to offend all the gods, rather than attack ſuch half-deſtitute ſoldiers, who were deprived of their captains. Now, what ſtronger, or more glorious perſuaſive for you can there be imagined than this? For thoſe Grecians would have made themſelves maſters of the kingdom, if it had not been for the raſhneſs of Cyrus: but it will be eaſy for an experienced general, like you, to guard againſt a like deception, and raiſe a far better choſen army than that which then conquered the Perſians. Excelling, I ſay, in both theſe advantages, who can doubt but it will be an eaſy thing for you to compleat ſuch a glorious enterprize? I am conſcious I have expreſſed many things in the ſame manner as before; for if I had choſen to have diverſified my ſubject more by diction, I could eaſily have done it; and, had I written for pomp and oſtentation, have ſet it off with all the oratorial ornaments: but, when I wrote to you, I muſt have been egregiouſly imprudent, had I laid a greater ſtreſs upon the politeneſs of expreſſion, than the weight and importance of facts: and ſeeing others uſing my reaſonings, I thought it too great a ſcrupuloſity, if I entirely abſtained from my own inventions. It is no juſt wonder then, that if there was a neceſſity, and it was becoming my character, that I made free with my former writings, but abſtained from others property in this kind, as I have always hitherto religiouſly done.

I HOPE this will ſuffice, by way of apology: it now ſeems proper I ſhould ſpeak of the preparations you have, and thoſe forces which they are maſters of. What is one of the greateſt advantages is, that you will have all the Greeks conſpire in common friendſhip, if you will endeavour

your to affect the public good, which I have mentioned; but as averse as poſſible to the Perſian king, on account of the Lacedæmonian tyrannical government, during their alliance with Aſia: for they all judged, had Cyrus and Clearchus proſpered, they muſt have been reduced to a ſtill harder ſlavery; but, by the conqueſt of the king, be freed from oppreſſion; which indeed happened. You likewiſe will have as many ready ſoldiers as you pleaſe; for now the circumſtances of Greece are ſuch, that it is more eaſy to raiſe a numerous army of thoſe who have no fixed habitation, than of ſuch as dwell in cities: but, in thoſe times, there were no foreigners; ſo that they were obliged to raiſe troops in other Grecian cities, and employed, on thoſe occaſions, as much money in preſents, as they did in pay to the ſoldiers: and, now, if we conſider well our advantages, that you will lead the army, and have the care of all, and not Clearchus, who was then at the head of affairs, we ſhall have an additional hope of ſucceſs: we ſhall perceive, that Clearchus had neither commanded land or ſea-forces, nor was any-ways diſtinguiſhed before his bravery and calamity in Aſia; but you have performed ſuch noble, ſuch glorious actions, that (did I now addreſs my diſcourſe to another) would afford me a ſpacious field of rhetoric and eloquence; but, ſhould I enumerate to yourſelf your actions, I ſhould juſtly incur the cenſure of being a trifling, luxuriant writer; yet, methinks, it is not foreign to my purpoſe, if I mention here the potentates, whom I counſel you to make war againſt, and him whom Clearchus had to fight with; for, by this means, you will beſt acquaint yourſelf with their qualities and powers. The father of the preſent king overthrew both ours and the Lacedæmonian city; but the preſent Perſian monarch never conquered thoſe enemies, who dared to invade his own territories: again, the former had the right of all Aſia confirmed to him by our public treaties; but the preſent poſſeſſor of the throne is ſo far from commanding Greece, that he cannot keep the cities which have been ſurrendered to him: wherefore it may be juſtly doubted,

whether he has abandoned them out of cowardice, or that they deſpiſed the Barbarian's power. Now, if we conſider the ſituation and circumſtances at preſent of the country, you muſt neceſſarily be ſtill more incited to this war. The Egyptians, indeed, revolted at that time; but they were afraid leſt the Perſian, collecting a great army, might conquer the difficulties of the river's paſſage, and get the better of their forces: but this prince has freed them from their fears; for having raiſed innumerable troops, as many as he was able, he marched againſt them, but returned not only vanquiſhed, but even baffled, and made ridiculous, and appearing to all neither worthy of being general, or wearing a crown. As for Cyprus, Phœnicia, and Cilicia, at that time they furniſhed the king with fleets, and fought on his ſide: but ſome parts now have revolted, and others are ſo diſtreſſed by wars, that they can be of no uſe to the Perſian, yet will certainly aſſiſt you, if you reſolve on a war with him. Beſides, Idrieus, who is the moſt opulent ſatrape upon the continent, muſt certainly favour you more than the eaſtern monarch, or he muſt be egregiouſly infatuated, if he deſires not the diſſolution of an empire, which ſo barbarouſly treated his brother, made war upon himſelf, perpetually lays ſnares for him, and has deſigns both againſt his liberty and treaſures. By fear of this, he is now compelled annually to flatter him, and ſend him large ſums of money; but ſhould you make a deſcent upon the continent, he will readily receive you, as the protector of his perſon and liberty; nay, you will infallibly draw over to your party many other ſatrapes, if you promiſe them liberty, and ſpread this fame over Aſia, which being credited by Greece, diſſolved both ours and the Lacedæmonians power. Now, ſhould I add here, by what method you may moſt eaſily conquer the king's forces, I am apprehenſive leſt ſome would blame me, if, having no experience of war, I dared to counſel you about its management, who have certainly had the greateſt ſucceſs and experience of any in our age; wherefore, upon this topic, I think I ſhould ſay no more.

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As for the reſt, I judge, that your father, he who acquired the kingdom of Macedon, and the firſt head of your family, abundantly ſuffice for your example and imitation; for, could they now ſpeak to you, I do not doubt, but they would give you the ſame counſels as I. I gueſs this from what they actually did; for your father always conducted himſelf as a friend towards thoſe cities, which I adviſe you to contract alliance with; and he who firſt acquired the crown, who thought in a higher order than his fellow-citizens, and aimed at monarchy, did not follow the ſame political principles, as uſually thoſe do, who have undertaken ſuch an enterprize: for moſt of ſuch made, in their reſpective cities, tumults, maſſacres, and many troubles, before they obtained the ends of their ambition; but he left the reſt of Greece in entire freedom, and eſtabliſhed monarchy only in Macedonia: for he too well knew, that the generality of the Grecians were not accuſtomed to monarchy or deſpotiſm; but that other people were not capable of keeping a regular form under any other goverment. This he knew from his general knowledge of mankind, and the nature of them and monarchy; and, by not endeavouring to enſlave and oppreſs his countrymen, he ſhunned thoſe dangers which ariſe frequently from the firſt acquiſition of monarchy; for if we read hiſtory, we ſhall find, that all others, who had attempted a thing of this nature before over the reſt of the Grecians, were not only ruined themſelves, but their very families deſtroyed and blotted out from the race of mankind; but he paſſed his whole life in great peace, tranquillity, and happineſs, and left his crown and kingdom to his poſterity. All men, indeed, praiſe the courage and valour of Hercules, and number up his conflicts and battles; but, in reſpect of the more humane and intimate virtues of the mind, I remember neither any poet or rhetorician, who has made mention of them. But this is, I think, a proper occaſion for my own doing ſo; for, though this topic has been hitherto relinquiſhed, it is neither unworthy of eloquence or new, but affording an infinite ſubject

of praiſe, and ſuch glorious actions, as require the moſt accompliſhed rhetoric and finiſhed oratory. Were I now in my youth, I could eaſily demonſtrate, that the author of your race excelled all that went before him, as much in prudence, virtue, philoſophy, and juſtice, as he did in the ſtrength and excellency of his body. But now having him for object, and perceiving the variety of ſuch a ſubject, I deſpair of my preſent ability, and am ſenſible, did I launch out into ſuch a field of panegyric, I muſt double the length of my preſent oration: I therefore ſhall omit all the reſt of his merits, and ſhall only touch upon one action, which ſeems to me particularly adapted to what I have ſaid before, and will only take up a convenient ſpace of time for my preſent intention; for he obſerving, that Greece was full of diviſions, wars, and other calamities, by putting an end to them, and mutually reconciling the diſunited cities, ſhewed to poſterity with what alliance, and againſt whom, we ought to make a common war; for, not indulging inactivity, he raiſed an army, made an expedition into Aſia, and beſieged Troy, which, at that time, was the powerfulleſt city of that country: in which war he ſo far diſtinguiſhed himſelf, in conduct, from thoſe in the following war, that his ſucceſſors compleated only in ten years, with difficulty, the deſtruction of that place, which he effected in a ſhort time; nay, in a fewer days than they years; and, with a far leſs number of men, he took it by aſſault, and afterwards ſlew all the kings of thoſe nations, which inhabit both the ſhores of the continent; whom he certainly could not have thus deſtroyed, had he not firſt ſubdued their powers. After this, he raiſed the trophy called Hercules's pillars, as a monument of his victories over the Barbarians, and a witneſs of his valour and dangers, as well as a limit of the Grecian dominion. I have mentioned this, that you may perceive I counſel you to the ſame glorious enterprizes, which your anceſtors have the moſt happily of all mankind executed. Now, it certainly becomes the nobleſt-minded to propoſe to themſelves the moſt arduous actions, and endeavour to put them in execution;

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in a word, to ſet before their eyes the greateſt examples, and emulate the nobleſt heroes. This is particularly your caſe; for, without foreign inducements, or any others than domeſtic examples, how can you be otherwiſe than excited to an imitation, nay, a deſire of equalling your paternal glories? I ſay not, that you can imitate all the actions and exploits of Hercules; for ſome of the gods could not do this: but you may indubitably imitate his philoſophy, his philanthropy, his benevolence towards all Greece, and his deſigns of its glory. It is, I ſay, eaſier for you (if I can but perſuade you by this diſcourſe) to acquire, in your preſent circumſtances, whatever glory you pleaſe, than to have made a progreſs to your preſent point of power, from the firſt beginning of your government. You ſee, I do not counſel you to make war in concert with Barbarians, againſt whom you are forbidden by the ties of nature; but, with Grecians, againſt thoſe whom it becomes the deſcendents of Hercules to conquer.

And do not wonder, that I ſo earneſtly admoniſh you to uſe generoſity towards the Grecians, and practiſe, in regard of them, all mildneſs and philanthropy; for I have obſerved, that harſhneſs and violence are not only uneaſy to the breaſts which indulge them, but to all that have any commerce with us; that the above-mentioned virtues are not only loved in other creatures as well as men, but that thoſe gods, who are eſteemed the greateſt benefactors of mankind, are, for that very reaſon, by eminency, called celeſtial; and that thoſe deities, who are ſuppoſed agents in the puniſhments and calamities of mankind, have a leſs agreeable appellation: both private perſons and cities erect temples and altars to the former; but the latter are not ſo much as mentioned either in prayers or ſacrifices, but we ſeem to have a kind of abomination for them: wherefore it becomes you, by ſuch conſiderations, to encreaſe in all, the preſent univerſal opinion of your humanity; for it becomes thoſe, who propoſe to themſelves a higher pitch of glory than other men, to have conſtantly in view actions that

are practicable indeed, but which have more of the mere poſſibility of wiſhes, than the probability of execution; and undertake them when the circumſtances of time and power ſeem moſt favourable. You may be convinced of of this truth by many reaſons, and eſpecially by what happened to Jaſon; for tho' he had never atchieved what you have done, yet he acquired the higheſt glory; not ſo much for what he did, as for what he ſaid; for he only diſcourſed, as if he deſigned to paſs over to the continent, and war againſt the Perſian. Now, if Jaſon rendered himſelf ſo popular by ſuch a declaration, what ſentiments muſt the Grecians have of you, if you put this in practice, and endeavour to conquer the Perſian empire? or, not effecting this, to ſeparate from them as many cities as poſſible, and divide Aſia, which ſome deſcribe as extended from Cilicia to Sinope? Add to this, if you will build cities in thoſe places, and give habitations to ſuch as are now unſettled, and, by the urging neceſſities of poverty, invade and deſtroy their neighbours; whom if we, by ſuch a method, do not provide for, giving them a ſufficient maintenance, they will clandeſtinely aſſociate in ſuch numbers, that they will become no leſs formidable to the Greeks than to the Barbarians: of all which we take no prudent care, but are, or ſeem ignorant of ſuch a growing evil and danger. Now, it becomes a wiſe man, and a lover of Greece, one who ſees farther into futurity than others, to uſe thoſe men in a war againſt the common enemy, and, cutting off ſuch a part of the country, as I ſpoke of before, to free the above-mentioned mercenaries from the calamities they ſtruggle with, and cauſe to others; to compoſe, I ſay, cities and colonies of them, and, by ſuch garriſons, ſecure Greece, while they will be ſo many ſtrong forts on the frontiers: if you do this, you will not only render them happy, but will ſecure us all. And ſhould you even fail of this, you will certainly recover the freedom of the Grecian Aſiatic cities. Whichſoever of theſe glorious points you gain, or even only undertake, you will certainly acquire more glory than any other; and this juſtly,

juſtly, if you begin ſuch an enterprize, and encourage others to join in it. But who would not at preſent wonder at what has happened, and deſpiſe us, ſince there have riſen men amongſt the Barbarians, whom we eſteem effeminate and unwarlike, who have imagined they could ſubject all Greece: but no Grecian hitherto (excepting Hercules) has had ſo much wiſdom or courage, as to attempt to make us maſters of Aſia; nay, we are ſo far inferior to them in this regard, that they have not been afraid to commence enmity againſt us: and ſhall not we have the reſolution to take a juſt revenge of ſuch aggreſſors? But tho' they confeſs, that they have neither good ſoldiers nor generals, nor any other preparations againſt dangers, granting likewiſe, that they are forced to purchaſe them from us, yet we have ſuch a mad inclination to hurt one another, that, tho' we may eaſily poſſeſs ourſelves of their ſtates, we will fight with one another for trifles; nay, we deſtroy the perſons who revolt from the king, and, out of mutual hatred, ruin thoſe related to us in blood, rather than the Barbarians. Now, I think it worthy of you, while others are in this ſupine condition, to be leader in a war againſt them. It becomes both the deſcendents of Hercules, and all in poſts of public power, to love thoſe cities which they live in; but you, as a deliverer, ſhould conſult the good of all Greece, as did your great progenitor, and run the utmoſt hazards of war for the univerſal proſperity and happineſs of Greece.

PERHAPS ſome will blame me, in this manner, having nothing elſe to ſay, that I have exhorted you particularly to this war, and the care of all Greece, while I omit my own city. Had I addreſſed ſuch a diſcourſe to others firſt, before my own country, which has three times delivered Greece, twice from the Barbarians, and once from the Lacedæmonians; had I done this, I acknowledge, I ſhould have deſerved juſt reprehenſion. But I ſhall appear now to any equitable perſon, only to exhort him who is moſt capable and willing, to ſuch a glorious undertaking; for I per-

perceived my own country leſs regarded what I propoſed, than the mad reveries of her venal orators; and therefore I deſpaired of my firſt deſign, but not of my whole intention: wherefore all ought deſervedly to praiſe me, that, by this faculty I am poſſeſſed of, I have always made war againſt the Barbarians, and accuſed others of imprudence, who were not of my ſentiment; and, in this view, I always endeavoured to perſuade thoſe, chiefly, who were moſt capable of doing the Grecians good, and deprive the Barbarians of their preſent affluence and ſuperfluity. On this account I addreſs this oration to you; tho' I am not ignorant, that many will envy me for this freedom, but all, I am ſure, will delight in the execution of my propoſal. As for my oration, none will think they have a ſhare in it; but all will think themſelves partakers of your ſucceſsful glorious actions againſt the Perſians. Conſider here what a ſhame it would be to you, to ſuffer Aſia to be in greater proſperity than Europe, and Barbarians happier than the Grecians; that thoſe who are deſcended from Cyrus, whom his mother expoſed, ſhould be called the great kings, and thoſe whom Hercules begot, whom, for his immortal virtues, his father advanced to the rank of the gods, ſhould be contented with inferior appellations; which certainly ſhould never be ſuffered, but ſuch a diſorder be remedied, and things in this regard changed according to natural merit. You know, I am perſuaded, I would not counſel you to this, if I foreſaw nothing would accrue to you but power and treaſures; for I am ſenſible, you have ſufficiently already, and I am equally ſo, that he muſt be blindly avaricious, who expoſes himſelf to dangers, and will either acquire ſuperfluities, or loſe his life. But I compoſed not this oration with a view to ſuch acquiſitions; but, on the contrary, becauſe I judged, that, from this enterprize, the greateſt honour and glory will redound to you. Reflect ſeriouſly, that we all of us have a mortal body; but that juſt praiſe and eſteem, which are the conſequence of great actions, make us partake of immortality, which we ought to

deſire above all other objects. You may obſerve likewiſe, that the moſt virtuous private perſons are not willing to part with life on any other ſcore; but readily lay it down in battle for fame and honour: in a word, that thoſe, who graſp at boundleſs glory, are ever praiſed by all; but that thoſe, who confine their thoughts to ſuch vulgar objects as are commonly purſued, are reputed grovelling, and worthy of oblivion. Beſides, enemies may poſſeſs themſelves of riches or kingdoms; but none, except thoſe who have been begotten by us, can be heir to our country's love and admiration for ſuch virtues as I have mentioned; ſo that I ſhould be aſhamed did I not counſel you, in this view, to make the alliance of all Greece, unite its forces, and run the hazards of war for univerſal good. You will take the prudenteſt advice upon this important ſubject, if you think, that not only I exhort you, but your anceſtors fame and glory, as well as all the diſtinguiſhed heroes of antiquity, who were eſteemed, and made demi-gods, for their military actions againſt the Aſiatics. But, laſtly, you cannot doubt what reſolution you ought to take, if you conſider the opportunity ariſing from your preſent power, which is certainly ſuperior to any in Europe; and, at the ſame time, how that the Perſian monarch, who now reigns, is the moſt univerſally hated and deſpiſed of all his predeceſſors. I wiſh I could collect together all the writings, which I have compoſed on this topic; for, I believe, my diſcourſe would appear ſtill more full and compleat: but you muſt ſupply this by your extenſive mind, in conſidering all the motives which may perſuade and exhort you to the war with Perſia. I am not ignorant, that many of the Grecians think the king's power invincible: now, it ſeems to me a paradox, that they ſhould imagine a ſtate, that is governed by a perſon ſo ill-educated, and whoſe principles tend to ſlavery, might not be diſſolved by a man of the moſt conſummate prudence in war, and whoſe politics deſign univerſal liberty and peace. Beſides, they cannot, ſure, be inſenſible of this, that kingdoms difficultly are eſtabliſhed, but eaſily diſſolved. Conſider likewiſe,

wiſe, that all mankind moſt admire thoſe who are capable of both excellencies, a wiſe management in peace, and conduct in war. But if you ſee thoſe, who govern in one only city, when poſſeſſed of thoſe faculties, univerſally praiſed, what muſt you imagine will be mankind's admiration of your virtues, when you have benefited all Greece by your wiſdom, and have conquered the Barbarians by your martial conduct? I hope this will be effected; nor can a more univerſally beneficial action be performed, than your reconciling the different cities of Greece; nor ever a like power be cemented by the Barbarians, if you overthrow their preſent armies: and ſhould any one in poſterity excel all others in the dignity and perfection of his nature, he will never have a like opportunity. And we may juſtly ſay, you have excelled the actions of the antients both nobly and heroically; for you have ſubjected as many nations as others have conquered cities: and can the inequality then be doubted of betwixt you and them in glory? But I decline the compariſon, for two reaſons; the firſt, becauſe ſome have done this imprudently; and, ſecondly, becauſe I would not ſeem to degrade thoſe who are eſteemed demi-gods and divine heroes. Reflect likewiſe (to hint ſomething here of antiquity), that neither orator or poet can either praiſe the riches of Tantalus, the power of Euryſtheus, or the empire of Pelops; but muſt poſtpone them to Hercules's glory, to Theſeus's virtues, and the merits of thoſe, and ſuch like them, who fought at Troy: and yet the moſt famous and renowned of thoſe heroes governed only in ſmall cities and inconſiderable iſlands, tho' they left behind them a glory that was thought divine, and deſerving eternal memory; for none love thoſe, who acquire to themſelves the greateſt power, but thoſe who are the authors of the greateſt happineſs to Greece. Nor will you ſee this verified in the examples only which I have mentioned, but conſtantly in all that take the ſame method: ſo none will praiſe our city, that it had the command at ſea, or acquired ſuch ſums of money from its confederates, to repoſite in the citadel; nor,

nor, indeed, becauſe it was maſter of ſo many cities, ſo as to raſe ſome, to encreaſe others, and, in fine, manage the affairs of not a few. It could indeed effect this; but what happened from it? It was ſeverely reproached by many. But, in regard of the battle of Marathon, the ſea-fight at Salamis, and the abandoning its houſes for the public good, all mankind praiſes them. The ſame judgment is paſſed upon the Lacedæmonians; for men more admire and praiſe their defeat at Thermopylæ, than all their other victories; and look upon the trophy, which the proud Barbarians raiſed for their overthrow, with love and veneration; but thoſe trophies they raiſed themſelves for the conqueſt of other Grecians, with regret and diſpleaſure: for they eſteem the former a monument of their valour and virtue, but the latter, of their avarice and oppreſſion.

HAVING therefore conſidered theſe differences, and explained them to you, if I have ſpoken any thing leſs worthy of my ſubject, you ought to have an eye to my age, which, I believe, you will think worthy of allowances; for if my preſent diſcourſe is equal to my former writings, it ought not to be ſo much ſuppoſed my age was capable of it, as that ſome god ſuggeſted theſe thoughts, not for the love of me, but rather of all Greece, out of a deſire of freeing it from its preſent calamities, and encreaſing your glory even beyond what you have hitherto acquired. I do not imagine you ignorant of the ſuperintendency and providence of the gods; for they are not viſible authors of our happineſs or miſery, but they give us ſuch ſentiments and inclinations as are productive of them; and now, to this end, have probably ſuggeſted to me this exhortation, and reſerved for you the glory of the execution of ſo great a deſign, as being moſt worthy and capable of it; but, perhaps, made my diſcourſe not diſagreeable to the hearers. I judge likewiſe, that you could never have effected thoſe noble actions which you have done, if ſome god had not directed you; not with a view only that you ſhould deſtroy the Barbarians that have ſettled themſelves in Europe, but that

that, firſt, being thus exerciſed and experienced, known for the hero you are, you may finally aim at that glorious concluſion which I propoſe. It is certainly an infamy, when fortune ſeems to lead in the path of glory, to be left behind, and not dare to advance where ſhe points out the way to honour and everlaſting fame. I think you ought to value all ſuch as ſpeak well of your actions; but, methinks, thoſe praiſe you moſt, who believe you worthy and capable of the greateſt actions; and not only thoſe who ſpeak agreeably to your ear at preſent, but ſuch as will make poſterity admire your actions beyond thoſe of any of your predeceſſors; and though I would ſay many more things to this purpoſe, I am not capable for that reaſon, which I have mentioned, but too often already. It now remains, that I ſhould recapitulate what I have ſaid, that you may ſee in one point what I have propoſed to your wiſdom; I ſay, you ought to do good to all Greece, rule over the Macedonians as a father, and extend your power as far as poſſible among the Barbarians; for if you do this, all will think themſelves obliged to you; the Grecians, upon account of the advantages which they reap; the Macedonians, for your royal, not tyrannical protection; and all mankind, if you free them from the arbitrary government of the Barbarians, while they are protected by the mildneſs of Grecian government. Whether this oration has been written in a proper juncture, and with care, I leave to the audience; but I am perſuaded, no one can adviſe you to what is more laudable, and worthy of your diſtinguiſhed high character.

THE

THE SIXTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES,
CALLED,
ARCHIDAMUS:
ADDRESSED TO THE
LACEDÆMONIAN SENATE.

The SUBJECT.

AFTER the battle of Leuctra, the Thebans made incurſions into the country of the Lacedæmonians, and cauſed them a variety of calamities: ſo that the Lacedæmonian women, meeting their huſbands in their flight, aſked them, if they thought it poſſible to take refuge in their wombs. By this reproach they took courage, and, being bravely aſſiſted by the Athenian horſe, got the victory at Mantinea. After the affair at Mantinea, they deſired peace of the Thebans by their ambaſſadors; who anſwered, they would give it, on condition they would rebuild Meſſena, and let it be free. When others would have agreed to theſe terms, Archidamus the younger oppoſes them. There are ſome who ſuppoſe, that Archidamus had this oration written for him by Iſocrates; others rather think it compoſed by Iſocrates for his own exerciſe, and that he might ſhew what he thought worthy of Archidamus to ſay in open ſenate. It is in the deliberative kind, and particularly inſiſts upon the topic of utility.

THE SIXTH ORATION of ISOCRATES, CALLED ARCHIDAMUS: ADDRESSED TO THE LACEDÆMONIAN SENATE.

PERHAPS ſome of you may wonder, that I, who always ſo exactly kept the decorum of the laws, as none that I know of my equals have done, ſeem now ſo changed, that I dare to give public counſel, young as I am, about what my elders have a difficulty to explain themſelves upon. Had any of thoſe, who were accuſtomed to ſpeak here, expreſſed themſelves worthily of our city, I would have held my tongue; but ſeeing ſome acquieſcing to what the enemy propoſes, and others not ſtrenuouſly reſiſting ſuch meanneſs, others quite ſilent, I have ventured to riſe up, and declare my ſentiments upon this occaſion: for I judge it a ſhame for him, who conducts his own life with honour, if he permits the city to neglect its reputation. I likewiſe think, that, if it becomes others to ſpeak of other ſubjects, it certainly becomes thoſe to ſpeak of peace or war, who muſt run the greateſt hazards; eſpecially ſuppoſing them capable of knowing what moſt concerns the public. Was it a certain truth, that old men

always understood what was best in every affair, and young men were excluded from prudence, it would be just that youth should be banished from public counsels; but since the number of years does not make the distinction in degrees of wisdom, but nature and diligence, why should you not hear the reasonings of both ages, that from thence you may conclude on what is the most convenient? I wonder, we should be judged worthy of commanding fleets, and conducting armies; which trusts did we not answer by our wise conduct, we must inevitably plunge the city into a variety of calamities; and yet not to be permitted to explain our minds, of what you yourselves are constituted finally the determining judges; and in which regard, did we happen to shew prudence, we must necessarily benefit the whole state; and, failing of our intention, appear in a disadvantageous light ourselves, but no ways prejudice the public. I reason not in this manner, out of a love of popularity, or of any other form of government; but with a view to persuade you not to reject any age, but see, if any stage of life, in the present situation of our affairs, can find out what will be publicly beneficial.

FROM its first establishment, there never was a war, or danger, so great as this, which now threatens our city, and about which I have ventured to give you counsel. In former times, we contended to govern others; but, now, the question put is, whether we shall obey foreign orders, in which our very liberty is concerned? for which, it behoves us to suffer the greatest hardships, as well as all others, that are not quite effeminate, or retain the least spark of virtue. As for me (to speak now of myself), I would chuse to die at present, rather than submit to the prescription of the Thebans, tho' I might protract my life by doing so: for I should be ashamed, if, being the descendent of Hercules, my father a king, and I myself having a like prospect, I should be careless, while I saw those lands, which our ancestors had left us, in the possession of our slaves. I wish you would entertain the same

sentiments

ſentiments as I. Hitherto we ſhall ſeem only unfortunate in our war with the Thebans, and be overcome, in our bodies, by the defect and ill-conduct of our generals; but ſtill have our ſouls free and invincible: if you part meanly with our indiſputed property, you will encreaſe the Theban pride, and raiſe a more glorious trophy for them, than that of Leuctra over ourſelves; that of Leuctra will be thought the monument of our misfortune; but the other, a witneſs of our own abjectneſs. Let none, therefore, perſuade you to diſgrace the city with ſuch infamy. But our allies have adviſed us to abandon Meſſena, and make peace; whoſe behaviour you ought to have a greater reſentment of, than of theirs who deſerted us in the beginning: for the latter, abandoning our friendſhip, ruined their own cities, throwing their citizens into diviſions, ſlaughters, and a tyrannical, diſordered œconomy of government; but theſe deſign deliberately your ruin: they would perſuade you cowardly to throw away that glory in a ſhort time, which your anceſtors had been at incredible pains and induſtry in acquiring, during the ſpace of ſeven hundred years. Nothing can be more diſhonourable or afflictive to Lacedæmon; nor could they have ſhewn their malice and jealouſy more effectually. They have that graſping ambition, and ſuch contempt of our courage, that, tho' they have ſo often deſired our bravery and generoſity to aſſiſt them, they now tell us, that we ought not to expoſe ourſelves for Meſſena; and, that they may enjoy their happineſs in peace, they endeavour to perſuade us, that we ought to yield to our enemies, and threaten, that if we follow not advice, they will make a ſeparate accommodation. I judge not, that this danger will be more hazardous than glorious for us without them; I would ſay, more ſplendid, and admired by all mankind. To endeavour our own freedom, and conquer our enemies, by ourſelves, is agreeable to the other noble actions of our city. I formerly, indeed, loved not ſtudied diſcourſes, but thought ſuch as employed themſelves in harangues, were indolent in reſpect of ac-

tion; but now ſhould eſteem no faculty more, than the power of fully explaining the important ſubject which I have in view: for could I effect this, I believe, I ſhould thereby be author of the greateſt poſſible good to our city.

In the firſt place, I think you ought to remember in what manner we acquired Meſſena, and for what reaſon now inhabit Peloponneſus, who were Doreans before. For this cauſe, I will aſſume my diſcourſe the higher, that you may the better underſtand why they would have you deprived of this region, which you have as juſt a title to as Lacedæmon itſelf. After that Hercules had changed this life for immortality, and of a man became a god, his children, upon account of the envy of their enemies, were driven to different baniſhments; but, when Euryſtheus was dead, they dwelt amongſt the Doreans. About the third deſcent, they came to Delphi, to conſult the oracle there; but the god, whom they conſulted, did not give them a clear anſwer, and only ſaid, they muſt return to their native country. Upon conſidering the oracle, they found Argos nearly related to them (for Euryſtheus being dead, they alone were left of the Perſidæ); Lacedæmon they found enſlaved, which place Tindarus gave to Hercules for reſtoring him after he had been depoſed (Caſtor and Pollux being dead before), both on account of ſuch a benefit, and his conſanguinity with his ſons. As for Meſſena, it had been gained by the right of war; for Hercules, having been robbed of his oxen (which he had brought from Erythea) by Neleus and his ſons (excluſive of Neſtor) after he had taken it by force, ſlew all thoſe who had injured him; but entruſted the city to Neſtor, thinking him poſſeſſed of prudence; becauſe, though the youngeſt, he had not joined in his family's injuſtice. Judging this to be the meaning of the oracle, and aſſociating your anceſtors, they raiſed an army, and, having diſtributed their land to their fellow-ſoldiers, they retained the royalty to themſelves; and, upon theſe terms, they undertook a common expedition.

tion. But I need not mention here, methinks, the dangers and actions of that enterprize, as being foreign to my purpoſe. They conquered, in this war, thoſe who inhabited the above-mentioned places, and divided their kingdoms in three-fold order. You continue, to this day, conſtant in the agreement which you made with our anceſtors; and for this, in former time, you flouriſhed more, and enjoyed more proſperity than others: and it is to be hoped, being of this diſpoſition, you will, in your enterprizes, be attended with greater ſucceſs than you are at preſent. But the Meſſenians arrived at that pitch of impiety, that they ſlew Creſphontes, the builder of the city, the lord of the territory, the deſcendent of Hercules, and their own general: his children eſcaping, became ſuppliants to this city; begged we would revenge their father, and gave up to us the country: wherefore, after conſulting the oracle, and having been counſelled by the god to accept of what was offered, you puniſhed injuſtice, beſieged Meſſena, and poſſeſſed yourſelves of the place.

Now, I am ſenſible, I have not ſpoken accurately of our right from the beginning (for the preſent time does not permit me to rummage into antiquity); but it was neceſſary I ſhould ſpeak of ſome things briefly, rather than with diffuſe perſpicuity: and I perſuade myſelf, it is manifeſt to all, that we did not at firſt acquire even this country, which is allowed by all to be our property, more juſtly than this controverted one. We inhabit this, becauſe it was given us by the Heraclidæ, a god commanded, and we expelled, by war, thoſe who then held it; and, in the ſame manner, we received the other city, and by the direction of the ſame oracle. But if we are of ſuch a mind, that we will refuſe our enemies nothing, even tho' they did command us to ſurrender Sparta, it is vain to concern ourſelves about Meſſena; but if there is not a man of you, who would not chuſe to die before he would do this, you ought to be of the ſame ſentiments in regard of both; for we have the ſame right, and the ſame reaſons, for either reſolution.

Beſides, you cannot be ignorant, that all men judge thoſe poſſeſſions, which they have held a long time, as their undoubted property. Now, we took Meſſena before the Perſians poſſeſſed themſelves of the kingdom, and ſubdued the continent; or even before ſome Grecian cities were founded. And tho' you have this to plead, theſe very Thebans granted Aſia, as his patrimony, to the Barbarian, who has not held that kingdom as yet two hundred years compleat; yet would take from us Meſſena, who have held it above double that ſpace of time already. They lately deſtroyed Plateæ and Theſpæ; and now they are for rebuilding this after three hundred years: they do both theſe things contrary to their oaths and covenants. Had they endeavoured to have reſtored the true Meſſenians, they had acted unjuſtly, but they would thereby have been guilty of a leſs injuſtice towards us. Now, they would have our own ſervants our next independent neighbours; ſo that it will not be our greateſt hardſhip to be deprived of the territory contrary to equity, but to ſee our ſervants lords and maſters of it.

By what follows, you will more clearly underſtand, that we ſuffer great oppreſſion, and that we have a juſt title to Meſſena. When the circumſtances of war were far more detrimental to us than our enemies, we were forced to conclude a peace: but, even in this time, when the treaty was on ſuch terms, that we could expect no advantage, the diſpute aroſe about other ſubjects. Neither the Perſian king, nor the Theban commonwealth, objected to us, that we were poſſeſſed of Meſſena unjuſtly. Now, what greater or more evident proof can we find of our claim than this, that it was acknowledged even by our enemies in our adverſity. As for the oracle, which is confeſſed by all the antienteſt, as well as moſt univerſally equitable, it did not only declare Meſſena to be ours, becauſe, upon the gift of it to us by Creſphontes's children, it had ordered us to accept the city, and aſſiſt the oppreſſed; but, even long after the commencement of the war, when each had ſent to Delphi, they

they imploring ſafety and protection, and we the methods of moſt expeditiouſly making ourſelves maſters of the place; to the Meſſenians the oracle anſwered nothing, as to perſons who made an unjuſt petition; but revealed to us the ſacrifices we ought to make, and the alliances we were to ſeek after. Now, once more, let me aſk, what greater proof than this can be given? for it is certain, that we firſt received this city voluntarily from the right owners (and it is not improper briefly to mention this); afterwards we poſſeſſed ourſelves of it by war, by which means, in thoſe times, moſt poſſeſſions had their beginning: add to this, that we drove away the enemies of Hercules's children, who ſhould have been exterminated from the face of the univerſe: finally, by the length of time, the judgment of our enemies, and the declaration of a god, we were allowed to have acquired it juſtly. Each of theſe proofs and titles is ſufficient to overthrow all the falſe pretences of our adverſaries, ſhould they ſay, that we either now make war out of avarice, or did at firſt, out of an unjuſt principle, make war on the Meſſenians. I could ſay more for our juſt claim to Meſſena; but, I believe, this may ſuffice.

THOSE, who would counſel us to make a peace, alledge, that it does not become the unfortunate and happy to reaſon in the ſame manner; but, in the preſent conjuncture, take prudent advice, obey neceſſity, and not attempt things beyond our power; nor have ſo much equity tenaciouſly in view, as utility. In other regards, I agree with theſe men; but that utility ſhould ever be preferred to juſtice, is what they can never perſuade me to by any arguments: for, in this ſentiment, I ſee all laws were firſt enacted, that good and wiſe men judged noble actions deſerving of honour; that the beſt governed cities ever obſerved this rule, and ſtruggled to conclude wars by the merits of juſtice and equity; in fine, that the whole race of mankind are preſerved by juſtice, but deſtroyed and diſſolved by injuſtice and cowardice: wherefore they ought never to deſpond, who fight on the ſide of juſtice, but rather the oppreſſors,

and ſuch as know not how to bear proſperity and power with moderation. We ſhould likewiſe conſider this, that all are agreed about our right, but we diſpute about the utility. Now, two goods being propoſed, the one evident, the other uncertain, is it not folly to refuſe what is confeſſedly a good, and purſue a doubtful one? the difference likewiſe in the option betwixt them being ſo great. My diſcourſe exhorts you to quit nothing of your right, nor make the city obnoxious to diſgrace and infamy; but bravely to face danger, in hope we ſhall have better ſucceſs in the cauſe of juſtice, than our enemies in the deſign of oppreſſion. Others adviſe you to abandon Meſſena; and if you commit an injuſtice againſt yourſelves, perhaps you will be deprived of imaginary utility, as well as your right, and whatever elſe you may expect; for it does not appear, that though we ſhould comply with what is commanded, that we ſhall have a ſure laſting peace. You are not ignorant, I judge, that all men reaſon with thoſe who remonſtrate againſt injuſtice; but are apt, when they find ready compliance, to impoſe further and more hard commands than they at firſt deſigned: ſo that it commonly happens, ſuch obtain a more reaſonable peace, who make a brave reſiſtance, than ſuch as too weakly ſubmit to impoſitions.

But, to the end I may not dwell too long upon this ſubject, I will now uſe the ſimpleſt arguments. If there was no inſtance that the unfortunate had ever recovered themſelves, or got the better of their enemies, I ſhould not encourage you to hope for what had never happened: but if it has often fallen out, that the ſtronger has been conquered by the weaker, and the beſiegers been deſtroyed by the beſieged, why ſhould not our preſent circumſtances admit a change? I have indeed no examples to produce of this kind in our city; for, in former times, none ever made an incurſion into this territory, who were powerfuller than we. In regard of other cities, many examples may be drawn from them, and eſpecially from the city of Athens;

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for we ſhall find, that, after they aſſumed authority over others, they were obnoxious to the cenſure of the reſt of Greece; but that whenever they puniſhed oppreſſive aggreſſors, they were ever applauded by all men. Should I mention here the antient hazards they have run againſt the Amazons, the Thracians, and Peloponneſians, who, with Euryſtheus, made an incurſion into their country, I ſhould not unjuſtly, perhaps, be thought to ſpeak of tranſactions that are at an immoderate diſtance of time. But who is ignorant out of what calamities they recovered themſelves in the Perſian war, and to what a height of glory they arrived? for they alone, of all who inhabit out of Peloponneſus, obſerving the power of the Barbarians like an irreſiſtible torrent, did not think they ought once to reaſon about any commands; but they immediately reſolved to deſert their city, rather than ſee it enſlaved. Thus they left their own ſoil, judging liberty their better country; and, ſharing with us the common danger, they met with ſuch a happy change of affairs, that, having been but a few days deprived of their city, they were, for a long time, lords of others. Nor can we only bring proofs from this city, that courage againſt an enemy is ſalutary; but even the tyrant Dionyſius may prove it, who being blocked up by the Carthaginians, nor having any hope of ſafety, but ſurrounded by war, and hated by his citizens, had thoughts of eſcaping by his ſhipping: in this circumſtance, one of his boldeſt friends ſaid to him, that royalty was a glorious grave. Of which advice and reproach he was ſo ſenſible, that, reſolving on the continuance of war, he ſlew many thouſands of the Carthaginians, made himſelf more abſolute maſter of his citizens, encreaſed greatly his former power, finiſhed his life as king, and left his ſon in the ſame honour and authority he had lived himſelf. Amyntas, the king of Macedonia, had alſo a like ſucceſs in his enterprizes; for being worſted by the neighbouring Barbarians in battle, and deprived of Macedonia, he at firſt thought of quitting the country, and ſaving his own life; but hearing a perſon

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praiſe what had been ſaid to Dionyſius, and changing, like him, his ſentiment, after he had ſeized a ſmall fortified place, and ſent round for ſuccours, in leſs than three months he recovered all Macedonia; and reigning afterwards a long time, he finiſhed his life by the neceſſity of old age. I ſhould weary you, if I examined into the variety of antient hiſtory of this kind; nay, if we reflect upon what has happened in the Theban war, though we grieve for ſome events, yet we may even thence conceive better hopes for the future: for, after they dared to meet us in our incurſions, nor dreaded our threats, their affairs took ſuch a proſperous turn, that, tho' they formerly were ſubject to us, they now think it juſt to rule over us. Whoever conſiders ſuch changes of fortune, muſt be very void of reaſon, if he thinks fortune will only ſhew herſelf conſtant in our calamities. We ought therefore, I ſay, to take courage, have good hope in regard of futurity, knowing that ſuch misfortunes are redreſſed by good policy, and experience in war. As for the ſcience of war, I believe no one will diſpute our precedency in that; and as for our government, I think, it will be allowed by all the perfecteſt. This, methinks, is ſufficient proof, that it cannot be but that we muſt have better ſucceſs than ſuch as never made great account of theſe advantages.

But many have an abhorrence of war, and mention, on this occaſion, its viciſſitudes; uſing, for examples, the calamities which have befallen us; and they wonder, if any will rely upon what is ſo inconſtant in its nature. I have known many to have gained great happineſs by war, and others to have been deprived of the poſſeſſion by peace; for nothing is abſolutely good or evil; but juſt as men uſe things and opportunities, there is a neceſſity that events ſhould be anſwerable. It becomes, indeed, the proſperous to deſire peace; for, by that means, they probably may enjoy longer a preſent happineſs; but the unfortunate ſhould turn their thoughts to war: by ſtruggle, activity, and reſolution, they may moſt eaſily obtain a happy change in their circumſtances.

cumſtances. But I am afraid, leſt we appear acting otherwiſe: when we had it in our power to enjoy our pleaſures, we often were too much inclined to war; but ſince we are fallen under a neceſſity of facing dangers, we deſire quiet, and conſult coldly about our ſafety. It concerns thoſe, who love liberty, to avoid ſuch agreements as are impoſed, as having a near relation with ſervitude; and then make a treaty, when they are either ſuperior to their enemies, or at leaſt equal to them in power: for all men have juſt ſuch a peace, as they make a concluſion of a war. Wherefore, being perſuaded of this, we ſhould not haſtily make a compoſition, that will be attended with infamy, nor ſeem to have leſs courageous ſentiments for our own city's glory and ſafety, than we have had for the good of others. You certainly remember, that, in former times, if only one Lacedæmonian aſſiſted any of our allied cities, all adjudged the ſafety of that city to him. The greateſt number of ſuch mens names any one may hear from our oldeſt citizens; but I can number up the moſt famous: Pædaretus going in a ſhip to Chios, delivered the city; Braſidas entered Amphipolis, and drawing up a few troops of the beſieged, he defeated, at their head, numerous troops of the enemy; Gylippus aſſiſting the Syracuſians, not only preſerved them, but made thoſe forces, by ſea and land, which had been ſuperior to them, all priſoners. And what a ſhame is it, that your anceſtors, ſingly, ſhould formerly have been capable of defending other cities, and all of us together not attempt now to ſave our own? that they ſhould fill, I ſay, both Aſia and Europe with their trophies, in the defence of others, and we now have fought no memorable battle, to repel ſuch open inſults of our country? that other cities ſhould have ſuffered the ſharpeſt ſieges for our government, and we not ſuffer the leaſt diſtreſs, to avoid the compulſion of bearing the moſt manifeſt injuſtice? In fine, though we ſtill nouriſh horſes for pomp and pleaſure, that we ſhould turn all our thoughts to a diſhonourable peace, as if we wanted the daily neceſſaries of life? But the moſt infamous

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circumſtance of all is, that we, who were thought the moſt patient of hardſhips of all the Grecians, ſhould act in this effeminate manner. Why need I make further mention of the threats of ſuch neighbours? we only once have been worſted, and yet have hitherto cowardly ſubmitted to every peremptory order of our enemies; for how ſhould ſuch in adverſity bear up long againſt it? Yet, who will not blame us, if, tho' the Meſſenians ſuffered a ſiege of twenty years, we ſhould, by a treaty, ſo eaſily quit it, nor once reflect upon our anceſtors glory; but abandon, for words, what they acquired with ſuch labours and difficulty? This ſome are ſo far from regarding, that, deſpiſing all ſhame, they counſel ſuch actions as muſt overwhelm their country with indelible infamy; and they ſo eagerly adviſe us to give up Meſſena, that, on this occaſion, they dare to mention our weakneſs, and the power of the enemy; and challenge thoſe, who oppoſe them, to tell from what ſide we may expect ſuch auxiliaries, that we dare to exhort you to the protraction of the war. But, I think, the greateſt and ſureſt alliance is, to act juſtly; for the gods will favour ſuch, if we may conjecture by the paſt of futurity. Add to this, that, by reſolution, a wiſer œconomy of government, and a determination of dying for our country, we ſhall recover our courage and vigour: and, laſtly, we ſhall regain an honeſt ſhame of public diſgrace, which certainly concerns us more than other men. In this circumſtance of public bravery, I would certainly rather fight along with Lacedæmonians, than aſſiſted by an innumerable multitude; for I know, that our anceſtors maſtered this country, not by being ſuperior in number to others, but in thoſe virtues which I have above mentioned. Wherefore we ought not to fear the enemy for their numbers, but rather conceive good hopes, if we more manfully bear our misfortunes than all others, and continue ſtedfaſt and reſolute in our city's laws and cuſtoms from its beginning. You ſee them incapable of bearing proſperity; nay, ſo far from it, that they are full

of diſorder. You may ſee ſome of them, with their allies, deſtroying cities; ſome of them reſiſting ſuch barbarity; ſome of them ſtruggling with their neighbours about frontiers, rather than fight againſt us. Now, what greater encouragement can theſe men expect, than the miſmanagement of our enemies. This certainly ought to be an encouragement to us; this will greatly aſſiſt us. But if it is neceſſary to ſpeak about foreign aid, I think many will be ready to give their beſt aſſiſtance. Firſt, the Athenians, tho' they are not our abſolute friends, yet will do their utmoſt in our cauſe for their own ſafety: I doubt not alſo, but that ſeveral other cities will conſult our preſent good like their own. Beſides, Dionyſius the Sicilian monarch, the Egyptian, and all the Aſiatic powers, as far as in them lies, will readily aſſiſt us in this condition, if we behave bravely. Laſtly, the richeſt of the Greeks, the higheſt in honour, and ſuch as have the moſt exalted, noble ideas, tho' they have not hitherto ſhewed themſelves, are our allies already by benevolence. With all theſe advantages, ought we not to hope well in regard of our future ſucceſs in? I alſo think, all the Peloponneſians, and even thoſe who were not before, will now be our zealous friends; for they have gained none of thoſe advantages from their defection from us, which they expected; but, inſtead of liberty, the contrary has befallen them: for, having loſt the beſt of their citizens, they are ſubject to the worſt; and, inſtead of living free by their laws, they are now plunged into a moſt dreadful anarchy: and having been accuſtomed to attack, along wth us, other powers, they now ſee foreign powers invade themſelves; thoſe popular diſſenſions, which they formerly only heard of amongſt others, they now daily experience themſelves: and add to this, that they are ſo overwhelmed by miſeries, that they cannot diſtinguiſh who is moſt calamitous amongſt them. Nor is there any of thoſe cities in ſuch a flouriſhing ſtate, which has not neighbours who will moleſt them; ſo that their territories have been plundered, cities eraſed, private families ruined, all politic government

vernment overthrown, and those laws dissolved, which while they lived by, they were the most happy of the Grecians: in short, they are reduced to that misery of diffidence amongst themselves, that they more hate their fellow-citizens than their declared enemies. Instead of that affluence which they enjoyed under us with protection and benevolence, they are involved in such confusion, that those who have substance amongst them, would rather cast their riches into the sea, than impart them to the needy; and those who are in lower circumstances, would, sooner than acquire riches honestly, wrest them from the present possessors; nay, neglecting common sacrifices, they assassinate one another at the altar; and more now, from one city, go into banishment than there formerly did from all Peloponnesus. Tho' I have mentioned such a number of calamities, yet those, which I have omitted, far exceed the catalogue; for there is nothing of misery and distress, which they have not suffered. Some are already wearied; others shortly will be so, and seek out some redress of such a deplorable condition. Never think they will be contented with their shattered, oppressive governments; for how should those, who desponded in prosperity, in adversity have constancy and patience? So that we not only may attain victory by fighting, but, if we continue quiet, we shall see them changed, and thinking our safety their best protection: so wide, so just a field have we of good hopes.

But I am so far from inclining to obey the Thebans commands, that, should nothing of what I have said happen, should we meet with no assistance from any side, but some of the Greeks would do us injustice, others neglect us, I would not even alter my mind, or repent of my counsel; but would face all the dangers of war, rather than make such a shameful treaty: for I should be ashamed, in both cases, if we either seemed to condemn our ancestors of injustice, as if they had not equitably possessed themselves of Messena; or, if this be allowed by all, that we should weakly grant our adversaries any thing, in this respect, out of cowardice

cowardice and daſtardlineſs. But let us do neither of theſe unworthy actions: let us rather conſider, how we may run the hazard of war worthy of ourſelves; nor ever make thoſe, who have written panegyrics on our city, ſeem to have done it with flattery; nay, rather let us act ſo, that all their praiſes may fall ſhort of our real valour. I cannot believe any thing of a more calamitous nature can befall us, than what we now ſuffer; and our enemies will reaſon and act in ſuch a manner, as will give us an opportunity of recovering our condition: but ſhould we be deceived in our hopes, be diſtreſſed on all ſides, and not able to defend our own city, I own it is harſh what I am going to ſay; but I will not ſpare your ears, or act unworthily of my own freedom: I ſhall, by ſo doing, ſpeak what is more proper for all the Grecians to hear, and ſuitable to our characters, than what ſome others adviſe you to. I ſay then, we ought to ſend our parents, our children, our wives, and the leſs uſeful citizens, to Sicily or Italy, ſome to Cyrene, and ſome to the continent; theſe places will receive them willingly, furniſh them with lands, and all other neceſſaries; part of them out of gratitude, for the good they have received from us, and others in expectation of reward for their having firſt obliged us. I would have us, therefore, who are willing to ſtay behind, and are proper for the fatigues of war, to quit the city, and all thoſe other poſſeſſions which we cannot carry off; and, after we have ſeized upon a place the beſt fortified, and capable of maintaining a defence, to ſpoil and rob our enemies both on ſea and land, until they deſiſt from diſputing with us our rights. If we have courage to dare this, you will ſee thoſe, who pretend to command us now, deſcending to entreaties, deſiring us to accept of Meſſena, and conclude a peace. For what city in the Peloponneſus can ſupport ſo dreadful a war as will be kindled, if you are reſolute and courageous? Who, I ſay, will not be afraid and terrified, to meet ſuch an army united, which has done ſuch wonderful things, is enflamed juſtly againſt the authors of our preſent

ſent calamities, make no account of their own lives, and, omitting all other employment, attend only to war, and watch the opportunities of a juſt revenge. Add this, ſo diſtinguiſhed by courage and military diſcipline, that no nation on earth can compare with them. Laſtly, who will not be confined to one city, but who will be accuſtomed to live in tents, to march every-where at full freedom, and become neighbours to whom they pleaſe; nay, think every place their home, which is proper for carrying on the war. I judge, if this report was only once ſpread over Greece, our enemies would be in great apprehenſion; and more ſo, if we ſhould at laſt be forced to put this counſel in execution: for what will be their condition, do you think, when they will ſuffer, and not be in a capacity to retaliate? In fine, when they will ſee their own cities beſieged, and ours no longer ſubject to that calamity? when they will perceive our ſubſiſtence, both from our preſent ſtores, and the daily acquiſitions of war, while their own will be clogged with many difficulties; becauſe there is a great difference betwixt maintaining ſuch a brave reſolute army in open field, and a numerous populace at home. What ſtill will moſt grievouſly afflict them is, if they perceive our ſervants are diſtinguiſhed by their dexterity and plenty, while their own are deprived of daily neceſſaries, nor in a power of remedying their condition; but tho' they till their lands, loſe the harveſts, and, ſhould they neglect, be continually waſted with famine.

But it may be objected, that, gathering their joint forces, and making a common army, they will purſue us, and prevent our deſigns. Now, what can we deſire more, than to ſee them approach us, to labour under the ſame patience of war with ourſelves, a body of men that will be diſorderly and ill-diſciplined, and under the command of different generals: we ſhould, in this caſe, avoid a great deal of trouble, and might force them to fight us upon our own conditions, and not at their option.

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THE remainder of my time would be all ſpent, if I endeavoured at large to explain all our advantages: however, this is evident to all, that we have not been diſtinguiſhed from other Grecians by the extent of our city, nor the number of citizens; but by our government, which was modelled like a well-diſciplined army, that is obedient to the commanders. Now, if we reduce to real practice what we have hitherto emulated and had in view, I do not doubt, but we ſhall overcome our adverſaries. We likewiſe know, that the antient poſſeſſors of this city entered Peloponneſus with few troops, and performed by them glorious actions, and downright wonders. It certainly is noble to imitate our anceſtors, to recover our power and government, ſince we have met lately with diſaſters, and endeavour to reaſcend in glory as high as ever. But the greateſt diſgrace of all will be, if, being conſcious how the Athenians abandoned their city for the common cauſe of liberty, we dare not quit ours, tho' it be for the ſafety of our very lives and fortunes, with whatever is dear and valuable to us. Methinks, we ought rather to ſet an example of this kind to others, than imitate their actions. Add, that it will deſerve moſt ſarcaſtic reproach, if the Phocenſes, on the great king's invading their territories, abandoned Aſia, and betook themſelves to Maſſilia, and we ſhew ſuch puſillanimity, that we will bear their dictatorſhip, whom we were accuſtomed to govern and preſcribe to. We ought not now to paint, in our imagination, that day when we muſt be ſeparated from our deareſt friends and relations, but fix our eye upon thoſe times when we ſhall have conquered our enemies, reſtored our city to its ſplendor, and receive again our fellow-citizens; when we ſhall have ſhewn to all, that we were undeſervedly unfortunate, and were, in former times, ſuperior in dignity to others. But I have not ſpoken this, that I think we ſhould immediately put my advice in practice, or that there is no poſſibility of ſafety without it: no, it is to prepare your minds, and perſuade you, that ſuch, and greater diſtreſſes, ought to be undergone by us, rather

than ſubmit to our enemies diſhonourable conditions, and give up tamely Meſſena.

YET I would not ſo earneſtly exhort you to war, if I did not ſee, that, by this method, you will have a firm and laſting peace; but, by following others counſel, an infamous one, and ſuch as will ſoon be diſſolved: for if we are to be neighbours to this city after it is encreaſed, who is ſo ignorant as not to perceive we muſt paſs our whole lives in tumults and dangers? Wherefore theſe warm counſellors of peace perceive not, that, for a ſhort time's reſpite, they will engage us in a perpetual war and confuſion. I would willingly aſk of them, for what objects they themſelves think we ſhould reſolve to conquer, or to die? Should it not be, when our enemies would impoſe unjuſt commands on us, take away a part of our territory, free our ſlaves, and introduce them into thoſe lands which our anceſtors had left us, and not only deprive us of our juſt poſſeſſions, but would plunge us in the loweſt diſgrace and infamy? Now, I think, to avoid this, you ought not only to undergo a war, but, was it neceſſary, baniſhment or death itſelf; for it is better to die ſurrounded with glory, than to live diſgraced, and humbly accepting others commands. Finally, if I muſt clearly ſpeak my whole ſoul, it is better our city ſhould be eraſed, than we inhabit it with the name of ſlaves and cowards; for it becomes thoſe, who have been the firſt in glory amongſt the Greeks, that they ſhould chuſe one of theſe two objects, either to lead the reſt in Greece, or not to be at all, lying down, after all their toils, in the bed of honour and immortal fame. Having theſe heroic ideas conſtantly in view, we ought not fondly to love life, or tamely obey their dictates, whom we uſed to command; but employ our thoughts about what moſt becomes the glory of our country, and not others advantages. All men ſhould not reaſon in the ſame manner, but make the memory of their former actions the foundation of their reſolutions. None will ever blame the Epidaurians, the Phliaſians, or the Corinthians, if they conſult nothing but their own eaſe and ſecurity:

ſecurity: but the Lacedæmonians will not be pardoned by poſterity, if they ſeek their ſafety by every method of avoiding war. If we cannot ſave ourſelves with honour, we had certainly far better to nobly periſh. They, who glory in courage and virtue, ſhould endeavour at nothing more than acting worthily of their character. Degenerate counſels ſhew the depravity of a city, as much as fear in battle declares cowardice: nay, what happens in battle, is often the caprice of fortune, but, in a ſenate, each determination is an index of the mind; ſo that you here ſhould take as great care of what is decreed in this aſſembly, concerning peace, as of what may happen from war. I wonder at thoſe men, who are willing to die for a private property, and are not diſpoſed to do ſo for the public good, for which a brave and good man would dare any danger, nor diſgrace his city, or neglect it, when it is ready to quit the high rank in which his anceſtors had left it. But let whatever difficulties and dangers ſurround us, we ought to take care, that we do nothing unmanly, nor allow our enemies an unjuſt precedence over us. It is, certainly, one of the laſt diſgraces, that thoſe, who have been at the head of Greece, ſhould ever be known to obey others commands, and to be ſo inferior to their anceſtors, that tho' they dared to die that they might command others, not dare to do ſo much themſelves to avoid ſlavery. We ought likewiſe to revere the Olympic and other general aſſemblies, in which our countrymen have been more intrepid, and deſerving admiration, than any others that have gained prizes. Into which of them, do you imagine, they will dare to come, deſpiſed inſtead of honoured, admired before for valour, and now contemned by all for cowardice? Add to this, ſeeing their ſervants bringing greater ſacrifices and preſents than they, from thoſe lands which their anceſtors had left them, and hearing from them ſuch baſe reproaches, as is probable, from men who were once in ſuch a ſervile condition, and now upon equal terms with their maſters. Theſe indignities we muſt ſuffer, which no words can properly

expreſs. We ſhould now conſult about this, and not then vainly grieve when it is too late. Let us now provide againſt ſuch an event. It is a great infamy, not to have formerly ſuffered even free perſons to uſe an equality of ſtile, but now ſuffer the audacious language of our very ſlaves. We ſhall ſeem, in foregoing time, to have been vain boaſters, but, in fact, no braver than others; and to have made our advantage of a fictitious, and not a real grandeur and gravity. Let us therefore give no handle to thoſe who are wont to reproach us, but endeavour to confute their malice by actions worthy of our anceſtors. Remember your anceſtors conflicts with the Arcadians, who, tho' few in number, and but one thick in rank, conquered many thouſands. Remember thoſe three hundred, who, at Thyreæ, conquered all the Argives in a ſet battle. Remember thoſe thouſand men, who met the common enemy at Thermopylæ, and, joining battle with eight hundred thouſand Perſians, did not fly, or were conquered, but loſt their lives upon the ſpot, where they were placed by their country's orders; who ſo bravely behaved themſelves, that thoſe orators, who are accuſtomed to write panegyrics, cannot equal their juſt praiſes. Remembring, I ſay, ſuch men, let us boldly enter upon the war, and not expect, as it were, till ſome others ſhould apply a remedy: but ſince theſe calamities have befallen in our times, let us endeavour to put an end to them ourſelves; for it becomes the brave to ſhew themſelves, in an extraordinary manner, on ſuch occaſions. Proſperity hides baſeneſs even in cowards; but adverſity manifeſtly declares what every man is. In this circumſtance, we ought to evidence to all, that we have been better educated and inſtructed than others. We ought not to deſpair, but that ſome good may follow from our preſent condition; for, I judge, all of you know very well, that many things of a like nature have happened to others, which all at firſt looked upon as calamities, and condoled with them, but perceived afterwards, that theſe reverſes of fortune proved the ſources of the greateſt happineſs. But

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why need I mention distant examples? We shall find even the chief cities, I mean Athens and Thebes, never to have flourished and encreased much in time of peace, but from those misfortunes which they suffered in war, and recovered themselves from. By this means, one gained the lead in Greece, and the other is now so aggrandized, as no one once thought it ever would be; for glory and distinction arises not from quiet, but from action and peril, which you ought to emulate, and neither spare your bodies, your lives, or any other possession; for if we can recover ourselves, and restore our city to its first state, from which it is fallen, we shall even be extolled beyond our ancestors, and leave no addition to our glory; but even make those, who are willing, doubtful how they shall praise us worthily. You likewise should not be ignorant of this, that all will have their thoughts intent upon the determinations of this assembly. Let every one therefore be assured, that, as if he were in an universal assembly, he will have the eyes of all Greece upon him. Now, it will be easy to consult as we ought: if we take the resolution of dying in our own just cause, we shall not only gain lasting glory, but we shall live ever after in ease and safety; but, if we fear danger, we shall involve ourselves in irretrievable confusion. Wherefore, exhorting one another, let us requite our country for our education, nor be indifferent in her disgrace and injuries, nor disappoint the hopes of our well-wishers. Let us not so highly, I say, esteem life, as to betray that glory, for which we have been so justly celebrated; but believe it truly noble, and more worthy of ourselves, to purchase, at the expence of a mortal body, immortal fame, and acquire, by the quitting of life, that honour and reputation, which will be transmitted down to our latest posterity. It is better to purchase everlasting glory in this manner, than, for the gain of a short, momentary space of time, plunge ourselves into perpetual disgrace and infamy. You will, methinks, be the most efficaciously roused up to this war, if you place, as it were,

before your eyes, both your anceſtors and children; the former, as exhorting you not to diſgrace the Spartan name, nor their trophies; and the latter, requiring of you thoſe lands their forefathers had left, as well as that authority in Greece, and that principality which was your inheritance; whom, I am afraid, we can give no juſt anſwer to.

I KNOW, long diſcourſes are always ſuperfluous; let me but add this, that tho' our city has been engaged in many wars and dangers, yet no enemy gained an advantage over us, while your armies were conducted by one of Hercules's family. It is certainly now the part of prudent perſons to liſten chiefly to thoſe in counſel, who have always been ſucceſsful in the management of their country's wars and contentions.

THE

THE SEVENTH

ORATION

OF

ISOCRATES.

The SUBJECT.

THE intent of this oration is to teach national decency and moderation. He adviſes the Athenians to a prudent change, or new model of government; a thing which none of the public orators dared to meddle with. Iſocrates, like a wiſe man, ſaw, that regular diſcipline and obedience were ſo loſt in a corrupted ſtate, that there was an univerſal contempt of magiſtrates, with an unbounded licence and audacity in the populace; in ſhort, that all order was diſſolved: he therefore endeavours to perſuade them to reſtore the form of government inſtituted by Solon, their wiſe legiſlator; who made the happineſs of the ſtate to conſiſt in the practice of virtue, and juſt obedience to ſuperiors.

THE SEVENTH

ORATION of ISOCRATES.

I DOUBT not but many will wonder, what can be my thoughts, that I ſhould make, in this convention, my diſcourſe upon the topic of public ſafety; as if the city was in danger, or its circumſtances precarious, tho' it has at preſent no leſs in pay than two hundred gallies: add to this, that it has peace all round, and keeps the titular ſovereignty of the ſeas; beſides, has many allies, ſome of them ready to aſſiſt us, and others, in greater number, paying taxes, and obedient on command. This being ſo, ſome, doubtleſs, would ſay, that you ought to be in full courage, as if all danger were at a remote diſtance; and that our enemies ought rather to fear, and conſult about their ſafety. I know, that you, reaſoning thus, muſt deſpiſe my oration, and hope all Greece may be ſubjected to your arms: but I am apprehenſive, for theſe very reaſons; for I perceive, that many cities, which ſeem the moſt proſperous, conſult moſt negligently the common good, and thoſe, which were the moſt elate, to have fallen into the greateſt dangers. The reaſon is, that unmixt good or bad is not the lot of human nature; but imprudence follows cloſe upon riches and power, as well as its attendant, luxury; whereas, wiſdom and moderation are the companions of want and poverty; ſo that it is worthy doubt, which of the two a diſcreet man would wiſh to leave his children: for we may often ſee, that, from what might appear a worſe ſtate, extraordinary good has followed; but that, from proſperity, as it might ſeem, human affairs are wont to degenerate

nerate into miſery. Examples of this nature may be collected in abundance from private ſtations (for changes moſt frequently happen in them); but if any require more celebrated proofs, they need only reflect upon what has happened to us and the Lacedæmonians: for tho' our city had been evacuated out of fear of the Barbarians, yet, by caution, and attending to affairs, we ſet ourſelves at the head of all Greece: but when we thought we were arrived at inſuperable power, we had like to have been reduced to a ſtate of captivity. As for the Lacedæmonians, tho', at firſt, they came from inconſiderable and ſmall cities, yet, by military conduct and ſtrict temperance, they made themſelves abſolute maſters of Peloponneſus: after this, aſſuming a greater authority than became them, and uſurping the power both of ſea and land, they fell into the ſame calamities with us. Whoever, therefore, is conſcious of ſuch changes, and that ſuch confirmed powers have been diſſolved, yet will confide in our preſent circumſtances, muſt be imprudent, eſpecially ſince our city is not in a ſimilar caſe to what it was then in formerly: beſides, the hatred of the Greeks, as well as the Perſians, is renewed againſt us, which formerly overthrew our proſperity.

I AM indeed doubtful, whether I ſhould think that you are ſollicitous for the public good, or, if you are ſo, are ſtruck with ſuch a lethargy, that you are ignorant into what diſorders our city is plunged. We have loſt all the cities in Thrace, ſpent above a thouſand talents upon ſtrangers, yet we are ſuſpected by Greece, and become enemies to the Perſian. Add to this, that we have been forced to ſave the Thebans friends, tho' we have ruined our own allies; and, for ſuch prepoſterous conduct, we have twice offered thankſgiving ſacrifices. Even ſtill we conſult more negligently about our affairs, than thoſe who are ſucceſsful in all their undertakings: now, we act thus, and neceſſarily ſuffer accordingly; for it cannot be expected, that ſucceſs ſhould attend thoſe, who conſult not wiſely about the ſum of all their

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adminiſtration: but tho' they prove proſperous in ſome actions, either by accident, or ſome man's diſtinguiſhed virtue, upon a new error, they ſoon fall into the ſame diſtreſſes. This is evident by what has befallen us; for tho' all Greece was brought under our power, by the ſea-fight when Conon was admiral, and wiſe management of our land-forces under Timotheus, notwithſtanding we could not, for any time, preſerve ſuch proſperity, but we ſoon loſt, and, as it were, ſquandered away ſuch happineſs; for we have not ſuch a wiſe government, as to uſe events to advantage, nor do we deſire to live under ſuch a one. Now, we all know, that proſperity is not ſecured by ſtrong fortifications, or the greateſt crouds of men aſſembled together, but by magiſtrates and obedient ſubjects, who make the ſtate flouriſh by the prudenteſt oeconomy. The very ſoul of a city is nothing elſe but a policy having the ſame efficacy in the public, as prudence has in the body; for it is prudence which conſults about, and directs all, which preſerves happineſs, and avoids calamity. To this wiſe oeconomy ſhould be ſubjected laws, orators, and private perſons, nor deviate from its maxims and directions. But our government being quite depraved, we take no proper care, nor conſider how we may reſtore it to its firſt plan and excellency. Indeed, in courts of juſtice, we accuſe one another, and ſay, that we never were governed worſe under a democracy; but, in our private thoughts and ſentiments, we love our preſent form of adminiſtration better than that left us by our anceſtors: concerning which I am going to make this following oration, as I have declared before.

I FIND this the only method that can avert future misfortunes from us, as well as remedy our preſent calamities, if we, with unanimity, reſtore that form of democratical government, which was eſtabliſhed by Solon. Cleiſthenes, who drove out our tyrants, and reſtored the popular power, recalled Solon's commonwealth to its firſt vigour. Now, we ſhall never find any form more calculated than this for the people's juſt power, or more conducive to our city's

intereſt. This is the ſtrongeſt proof: they, who lived under this form, did noble and glorious actions, gained the approbation of all, and had deferred to them the ſupreme authority of Greece by free conſent; but thoſe, who are ſo deſirous of our preſent ſtate, are hated of all, have fallen into great difficulties, and were upon the very verge of the greateſt calamities. Now, how can any one juſtly praiſe or love ſuch a policy, which has formerly been the occaſion of ſo many evils, and now annually becomes worſe, and more diſordered? How can any help fearing, leſt, by additional depravity, it may conclude by more calamitous events than formerly we were expoſed to? But, that you may not only hear generals, but underſtand particulars, and make an accurate judgment of them, it becomes you to be attentive to what I am going to ſay; for I will expreſs myſelf as briefly, but as much to the purpoſe, as I am poſſibly able. Our anceſtors conſtituted a republic, not in title only the mildeſt and moſt popular, but appearing by fact, and upon experience, ſo: nor did they ſo govern their citizens, as to make them believe, luxury and licence were a democracy, and a contempt of all law, perfect freedom; inſolence, an equality in equity, or the power of acting in this looſe manner, happineſs: on the contrary, they judged, they hated, and puniſhed ſuch diſorders, and, by vigilance, rendered all their fellow-citizens better and wiſer. What highly conferred to their wiſe œconomy was, that they knew perfectly, that there were two ſuppoſed equalities; the firſt, when all had an equal ſhare in all things; and the ſecond, when each had according to his juſt merit. Now, they were not ignorant of which was the preferable; for they diſapproved of that government, which levelled the good and bad indiſcriminately, as being inconſiſtent with juſtice; but choſe that form, which rewarded and puniſhed according to merit. It was in this ſort that they ſteered the helm of public œconomy, and did not chuſe magiſtrates promiſcuouſly, but exalted to power thoſe who were the beſt and moſt fit for public ſtations; for they judged the

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mobile would be such as were their governors: besides, they judged this distribution of authority wiser than by fortuitous lots. Fortune, they thought, presided in such chances, and those were often put in power, who desired an oligarchy; but, by a considerate election of the most worthy, the body of the people might chuse out such as most sincerely loved the good of their country. The happy principle, which reigned at that time, was, not to be ambitious of posts, because each was determined to do their utmost for the common good, and spare the public treasures, and not be extravagant in particular, and plunder others; not establish their own affairs by their country's robbery, but from their own private well-managed revenues assist the public on just and emergent occasions; in short, not examine more into the states taxes than their own annual income: so that it was more difficult to find, in those times, those who courted popular promotion, than it is now, such as desire no more, but are contented with their own fortunes; for they did not think the care of public affairs of the nature of a market, but a trust which required the greatest vigilance and honour: nor did they so quick-sightedly look about them, where their predecessors had left some stock; but rather, if they had left unfinished some noble work, which required a last hand to it: in a word, they were sensible, that the people, like an absolute lord, ought to constitute the magistrates, punish the offenders, and put an end to contestations; but that the affluent, and those who depended not on necessary business, should take care of the public interests, as their own, out of a principle of generosity, and love that applause which is given to sincere merit: on the contrary, if they acted ill, be exposed to the just resentment of the public. How is it possible, may I here exclaim, to find out a stronger or more equitable commonwealth than that which placed, in posts of power, the most capable of affairs, but constituted the assembled body of the people disposers of them?

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This was the œconomy of their ſtate. It is eaſy, from this ſhort ſketch, to imagine, that they muſt have governed with great wiſdom and prudence; for it muſt be, that thoſe, who conſult wiſely about the whole of affairs, muſt manage, with diſcretion, ariſing incidents. And, in the firſt place, as to what related to the immortal gods (for certainly they ought to take the firſt place), they neither ſacrificed to them, nor celebrated their feaſts in an unlawful or diſorderly manner, nor ſent, out of a capricious humour at times, three hundred oxen to a famous temple; but, when their country feſtivals occurred, neglected the yearly rituals: nor did they ſhew magnificence upon occaſional feaſts, and, in the moſt ſacred ſolemnities, ſhewed a meanneſs, and ſacrificed bought cattle; but they were particularly ſollicitous of this alone, neither to infringe their country's cuſtoms, or add to them. They did not think piety conſiſted in expence, but in altering nothing of the traditions of their anceſtors: wherefore, their ſolemnities did not return upon ſudden dangers and diſorders, but regularly, and with decorum; when they began to cultivate their lands, or get in their harveſts. In the ſame manner they governed their own affairs; for they had not only unity among themſelves, but, even in common life, they took ſuch care of one another, as it becomes the prudent, and ſuch as inhabit the ſame country. And ſo far were the poorer ſort from envying the affluent, that they were as anxious for the proſperity of great houſes as their own; thinking the flouriſhing condition of ſuch their own happineſs. Thoſe, on the contrary, who were poſſeſſed of ſubſtance, were ſo far from deſpiſing the indigent, that they thought the poverty of any of their fellow-citizens a diſgrace. They let out their lands at eaſy rents; ſome they aſſiſted in merchandize, and ſome in different manufactures. They were not of ſuch grovelling tempers, as to fear either of theſe two caſes; that they might expend in public good their all, or, thus engaging themſelves for others, might diminiſh their treaſures: but they had as good hopes from their liberalities, as what was

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in their chests; for they saw the citizens, who then had the supreme power, did not abuse these favours, but were grateful, and submissive to the laws. So far were they from assisting others in any injustice done the great, that they were enflamed against such criminals more than had it been done to themselves; and believed, that the poorer sort were more injured by the knavish behaviour of particulars, than even the rich, who might suffer by it; that the rich, indeed, by being deprived of some gain, were only slightly incommoded in their revenues; but that, should the poorer be deprived of their assistance, they must all be reduced to the last extremity. For this reason, no one concealed his money, nor was unwilling to confer favours on others; but were more pleased to see those who took their money on interest, than those who came to make full payment. But this conduct succeeded as wise men would wish; for they both benefited the public, and employed profitably their own substance. But the chief of all was, that they conversed together on the terms of amity; for all possessions were secure to those who possessed them justly, and the use of them was equitably open to all citizens.

PERHAPS some will find fault with what I have said, because I praise the actions which were done in those times, but do not mention the causes why they were so happy in public and private. Tho', I think, I have hinted something of this, yet I shall endeavour to speak more distinctly upon this subject. They had not a variety of teachers, as we have now, and, as soon as they became men, were left to their full liberty; but, in the bloom of their life, had more care bestowed upon them than before: for our progenitors laid the interests of virtue so to heart, that they appointed the Areopagus to inspect the decency of people's manners; which dignity none could arrive at, but those who had been honourably born, had shewn distinguished virtue and moderation, as became those who were to sit in the supreme place of judicature of all Greece.

We may judge of the truth of what I have aſſerted, by thoſe who preſided then, and thoſe who ſit there now; for we may ſee all thoſe, who participate of this honour, tho' they are inſufferable in other regards, as ſoon as they enter the Areopagus, reſiſting their own natures, and rather obeying the laws there, than their own perverſe diſpoſitions: ſuch a horror our anceſtors left in that ſacred place of all crimes, and ſuch a remembrance of virtue and temperance! They therefore, as I ſaid, made this ſenate the guardian of good manners: they judged, like wiſe men, that thoſe were deceived, who thought the beſt men were formed where there was the greateſt accuracy of laws; for there is no difficulty in having them alike over all Greece, by the eaſy communication of letters. But virtue does not ariſe from ſuch theory, but from habit and daily practice; for, by regular manners, a great number muſt become alike, in reſpect of what they have been inſtructed in: whereas, multitude and exactneſs of laws is a proof, that the city is not wiſely governed; for when there are neceſſary bulwarks, as it were, againſt vice, many laws muſt be the conſequence: but prudent ſtates ought not to have their piazzas filled with edicts, but the minds of the citizens with ſolid juſtice; for virtuous conduct, and not public decrees, renders a nation happy: in a word, the vicious and ill-educated will dare to tranſgreſs againſt the beſt of laws; but thoſe improved by good education, will put in practice what the juſteſt rules of their country require. They had not ſo much in view the ſevere puniſhments of the bad, as ſo to form their own minds, as to be worthy of no penalty; for they judged this their own buſineſs: on the contrary, they thought it became enemies to think of others torments. They were ſollicitous for all the citizens, but eſpecially the youngeſt; they ſaw thoſe liable to the violenteſt paſſions and diſorders, and their minds requiring the beſt inſtruction, to be incited to the love of honourable actions, and ſuch labours as procure reputation, true pleaſure, and glory; for thoſe only continue in the practice of theſe virtues, who

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are well educated, and accuſtomed to noble thoughts. Now, it was not poſſible, that all ſhould live exactly by the ſame inſtitutes, ſince they were in very different ſtations of life; but, as far as was conſiſtent with their different fortunes, they required it of every one: for they brought up to merchandize and huſbandry ſuch as were of the poorer ſort; knowing, that indigence is the attendant upon lazineſs, but wicked actions come from poverty. By removing the cauſes, they thought they deſtroyed the very roots of evil: but thoſe who had a competency, they exerciſed in horſemanſhip, in gymnaſtic games, and philoſophy; for they perceived by this œconomy, that ſome arrived at the greateſt excellency, and others abſtained from the greateſt part of evils. And tho' they ratified theſe rules by laws, they were not negligent of the remainder of their lives; for, dividing the city into wards, and the country into tribes, they inſpected the lives of all, and brought the diſobedient and irregular before juſtice. This court admoniſhed ſome, threatened others, and puniſhed, as it was convenient, the obſtinate. They well knew there were two diſpoſitions, the one inclining to injuſtice, and the other to integrity: for in thoſe cities, wherein there is neither a priſon, nor puniſhment of diſorders, nor accurate ſentences in law, even the good become depraved by example: but where injuſtice can never be concealed, nor, when it is known, go unpuniſhed, all vices, by degrees, were baniſhed in ſuch well-governed cities. It was by a conviction of this, that they reſtrained their citizens from vices, both by puniſhment and vigilance; for tranſgreſſors of the laws were ſo far from being hid to them, that they even perceived before-hand when the eſteemed honeſt were going to commit diſgraceful actions. Wherefore, the youth did not paſs whole days in gaming, hearing players on wind-inſtruments, or in ſuch aſſemblies as they now trifle away their time in; but they were ſtudious of thoſe inſtructions which were appointed them, admiring and ſeeking the converſation of ſuch as excelled in them: and they ſo ſhunned the public forum, that,

if they were occaſionally forced to paſs through it, they did ſo with great retinue and modeſty. They likewiſe thought it then a greater diſgrace to contradict or reproach their elders, than it is thought now to inſult parents; for not even a modeſt ſervant would be ſeen to eat or drink in a public-houſe. They ſtudied gravity, and not a ſaucy, audacious contumely; and they then thought low ſcoundrels thoſe who love indecent jeſts and ſarcaſms, and are now eſteemed wits for it. But let me not be thought moroſe againſt our youth: no, I do not judge them authors of our preſent circumſtances. I know, that moſt of them take no pleaſure in the management, if it may be called ſo, of our public affairs, tho' it gives them the liberty of abandoning themſelves to all luxury: ſo that it would be unjuſt to impute our unhappineſs to them, but, more reaſonably, to ſuch as governed our city a while ago; it was they who reduced our ſtate to this contemptible condition, and diſſolved all the power of our former good government; during the time of which wiſe œconomy, neither law-ſuits, or exactions, nor poverty, or wars, oppreſſed our cities; but we were in concord among ourſelves, and at peace with our neighbours: for our anceſtors behaved themſelves with fidelity towards the Greeks, and with courage towards the Barbarians; they ſaved the firſt, and afflicted the others with ſuch loſſes, that they were glad to remain ſtill, if they might eſcape ſuffering the like. Wherefore, our anceſtors lived with that ſecurity, that they had finer and better furniſhed houſes upon their own lands, than in the city: ſo that many of the citizens did not chuſe to come even at the public feaſts, but choſe to paſs them at their houſes, rather than partake of the public pomp and munificence. Nor did they, in their public ſpectacles, which their countrymen came to, behave in a luxurious or proud, but a wiſe and rational manner; for they did not judge of happineſs by pomps, by public dancings, or ſuch ſhewy pride, but by living temperately, employing well every day, and by none of the citizens wanting what was neceſſary. By this wiſe œconomy we

may

may beſt judge of a well-governed ſtate, and not by a proud, oppreſſive management. Now, who is there poſſeſſed of a degree of wiſdom, who is not afflicted to ſee the preſent condition of our affairs; while ſome of the citizens, whether they have a competent qualification by eſtate and education, or not, ſtand candidates for public employments, govern and manage the Grecian fleets, dance publicly in embroidered veſts, and paſs the winter-ſeaſon in ſuch diverſions, as I am aſhamed to mention, with other inconſiſtencies innumerable in our republic, which are the cauſe of great infamy to the city? nothing of which happened during our former wiſe ſenate; for it freed the poor from their diſtreſſes by beneficence, and the concurrent aſſiſtances of the rich, and the youth from vices, by care and diligent inſtructions; but kept within bounds the avaricious magiſtrate, by puniſhment, and inſpection into all injuſtice. The elders were puſhed on to vigilance by various honours, and the reverence of youth. Now, what form of government could be more valuable than this, which took ſuch diligent care of all? We have mentioned, I believe, moſt of the happy circumſtances of that time; but what has been omitted, it is an eaſy matter to gueſs at by what has been ſaid already.

Some have heard me explain theſe truths before, have praiſed me ſuperlatively, and admired our anceſtors, becauſe they governed our city in ſuch a manner, but did not think I ſhould ever perſuade you to follow the example; on the contrary, that you knowingly would continue, by the force of cuſtom, in the ſame difficulties, rather than, by returning to ſo wiſe a form, lead a more virtuous and rational life. They ſaid, I incurred the danger, by adviſing what was beſt, of becoming odious to you, and be thought to deſign an oligarchy. If I had not ſpoken of evident facts, but of unexperienced novelties, and had counſelled you to model the government accordingly, by an election of ſcribes and counſellors, by whom formerly the people's authority was overthrown, I juſtly ſhould undergo ſuch a cenſure. But

I have ſaid nothing of this nature, but have reaſoned from an œconomy well known, and clear by hiſtory to all; which, all are perſuaded, was your paternal government, and the cauſe of the greateſt felicities to our city, and all Greece. Add to this, a government inſtituted by thoſe men, whom all will acknowledge to have been the juſteſt and wiſeſt of our citizens in any age. Wherefore, may the greateſt of calamities befall me, if, while I only propoſe this wiſe government, I have an intention of any innovation! But from hence my deſign is evident; for, in moſt of my diſcourſes, I ſhall appear to condemn oligarchies and oppreſſions, but continually to praiſe democracies: not all indeed, but ſuch as are well inſtituted; not by chance, but upon the principles of juſtice and reaſon. I know perfectly, that your anceſtors, by this œconomy, excelled others; and that the Lacedæmonians have flouriſhed particularly on account of their ſingular adherence to popular intereſt and authority. In the choice of magiſtrates, and their daily life, as well as other inſtitutes, we may ſee, that an equality and ſimilitude of condition prevails among them; which oligarchies are averſe to; but thoſe, who live in a popular ſtate, conſtantly encourage it.

Now, we ſhall find, upon reflection, that democracies, more than oligarchies, have made the ſplendideſt and moſt flouriſhing cities: ſo that even your preſent republic, which all find fault with, if compared with your former, may yet ſeem divinely inſtituted, in compariſon of our ſtate under the thirty tyrants. I am reſolved, that tho' I ſhould be thought to ſpeak foreign to my purpoſe, I will manifeſt and declare how much our government differs from that of our anceſtors, that no one may imagine, I deſign to aggravate the faults of the populace; and, if they have done any thing in a grave and decent manner, paſs it by. Now, this part of my diſcourſe will neither be long, or uſeleſs to my hearers. After we had loſt our ſhips at the Helleſpont, and our city was involved in thoſe calamities, which you all know, who did not perceive, that thoſe of the elders, who were moſt affectionate

affectionate of the people, were ready to ſuffer any thing, rather than obey foreign command? for they judged it an infamy, ſhould they ſee that city, which had been at the head of Greece, ſubject to thoſe who were wont to be dependent: on the contrary, thoſe who are deſirous of an oligarchy, were ready to demoliſh their walls, and accept of ſlavery; beſides, when the people were maſters of the ſtate, we had our gariſons in others towns; but when the thirty tyrannized, the enemy was poſſeſſed of ſeveral of ours, and, after that time, the Lacedæmonians became your maſters: yet no ſooner the baniſhed being returned, dared to fight, and Conon got the better in a ſea-engagement, but embaſſadors were immediately ſent to us, and we were offered the command at ſea. This every one of our cotemporaries is ſenſible of; for our antient democracy ſo decorated the city with temples, and ſtated ſacrifices, that, at this very day, ſtrangers, who viſit it, think it not only worthy of being at the head of Greece, but of all other nations: but the thirty neglected ſome ſacrifices, plundered ſome temples, and ſold the building-docks for three talents, which had coſt the city at the leaſt a thouſand. But neither can I praiſe their mildneſs and clemency more than what the democracy had ſhewed; for tho' they received their power by election, yet they murdered thirteen hundred of their fellow-citizens, without the form of law, and forced above five thouſand to fly into the Pyræum: but theſe getting a glorious victory, and returning by force of arms, ſlew the authors of thoſe calamities, and managed all things among the citizens with that equity and juſtice, that thoſe who had joined with the tyrants, had equal liberty and property with thoſe who had recovered their rights by victory. But this is the nobleſt and moſt glorious proof of the people's moderation; for thoſe who had continued in the city, having borrowed a hundred talents to carry on the ſiege againſt theſe who had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Pyræum, a general aſſembly being called about the payment of that money, and ſome ſaying it was but juſt, that the beſiegers, and

not the beſieged, ſhould pay this ſum to their allies, the people ſtill decreed the payment ſhould be common. By this conduct, they cauſed ſuch an union, and ſo far recovered the ruined ſtate of the city, that the Lacedæmonians, who were very near giving abſolute law to our city during the oligarchy, came in a ſuppliant manner to our democracy, begging of our city not to ſuffer them to be oppreſſed by the Thebans. Now, this is the ſummary of the different ſentiments of our two parties: the oligarchic party endeavoured to enſlave their citizens, but ſerve their enemies; the democratic choſe to govern others, and preſerve equality among the citizens.

I HAVE hitherto explained myſelf thus, for two reaſons; the firſt, to ſhew myſelf not an abettor of oligarchies, or oppreſſion, but of a juſt and wiſe management of ſtate; the ſecond, that an ill-conſtituted republic is productive of leſs inconveniency than an oligarchy; but that well-governed ones are tranſcendently preferable, by being grounded on juſter principles, and more eaſy and pleaſant to the ſubjects. Now, perhaps, it may be wondered at by ſome, why I perſuade you to another form, when ſuch generous, glorious actions have been performed by our preſent conſtitution; and why I have juſt now ſo highly extolled the democracy, but, when I happen to change my language, I inveigh ſo heavily againſt our preſent management. I am even accuſtomed to condemn private men, when they do but a few reaſonable actions, and commit many extravagant ones; and I think them more negligent, and leſs worthy, than they ought to be. In the ſame manner, I diſpraiſe ſuch children, as born of noble-minded, virtuous parents, yet become little better than ſuch as are infamous by their vices, and far beneath their forefathers excellencies; and I certainly would counſel them to deſiſt from continuing ſo. Now, having the ſame ſentiments about public as private affairs, I do not think we ought to be proud, or admire ourſelves, if we are more regular and juſt than men who ſuffer variety of calamities by their madneſs and folly, but

rather grieve and be ſorry, if we have degenerated from our anceſtors; for we ought to emulate their virtues, and not imitate the ſhocking vices and tyranny of the thirty: beſides, it becomes us to excel all mankind. I have not expreſſed my thoughts only in this manner at preſent, but many times, and to many perſons before; for I am ſenſible, that, in many places, the natures of fruits, trees, and animals, are different according to the various climates, nay, very different from one another. But this I know likewiſe, that our country is capable of producing men, not only ingenious in reſpect of arts and mechanics, but diſtinguiſhed by their valour and humanity. A proof of this is, their exploits againſt the Amazons, the Thracians, and all the Peloponneſians, as well as thoſe dangers which they ran in the wars with the Perſians; in which wars, both alone, and with the Peloponneſians, by land and by ſea, they conquered the Barbarians, and deſerved the higheſt praiſe for magnanimity: which could never have been done, had they not excelled in nature. But let not any imagine this a panegyric, or encomium of our preſent ſtate: ſuch orations are juſt praiſes of thoſe who equal their anceſtors virtues, but a ſatire upon ſuch as diſgrace themſelves by falling ſhort of them, which we do. I will ſpeak freely the truth: tho' we were poſſeſſed of this excellency in nature, we have not preſerved it, but we are fallen into ignorance and confuſion, and the love of ſordid pleaſures. But I am afraid, ſhould I expatiate and enlarge my diſcourſe upon our miſconduct, I ſhould wander too far from my firſt purpoſe: concerning this I have ſpoke before, and ſhall ſpeak again, if I do not prevail on you to correct your preſent behaviour.

AFTER I have ſpoken briefly about what I propoſed in the beginning, I will give place to any who will give their judgment of our preſent circumſtances. If we continue to live as we do, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that we have endleſs diſputes, frequent wars, and act and ſuffer as we have done in the late paſt times; but, if we change our œconomy, we may reaſonably expect, that our affairs will take as

happy a turn as in our forefathers time; for it is conſequent, that, from the like inſtitutions and manners, the ſame or the like ſucceſſes and actions muſt follow. Now, comparing ours and our anceſtors actions together, we ought to determine which we would chuſe. And, firſt, let us conſider, how the Grecians and Barbarians were affected by the antient form of government: ſuch conſideration of the differences muſt contribute to our happineſs. Now, the Grecians had ſuch confidence in the managers of our public affairs then, that moſt of them put themſelves ſpontaneouſly under the patronage of our city; and the Barbarians were ſo far from interfering in the Grecian affairs, that they approached not Phaſelis with their long ſhips, nor came down with their armies within the river Halys, but kept themſelves in profound tranquillity; but things are now ſo changed, that the Greeks hate our city, and the others deſpiſe it. In regard of the Grecian hatred, you have had a proof of it from their generals; and the Perſian monarch, by the letters he has ſent us, ſufficiently declares his diſpoſition. Let me here add, that the citizens of thoſe times remained in peace at home; ſuch lovers were they of peace and humanity! but always conquered ſuch as dared to invade their territory. We do the contrary; we never ceaſe afflicting one another daily; but have ſo far neglected military art, that we dare not bring things to an examination, but by the dint of money. In their time, no citizens were in want of neceſſaries, nor did one beggar diſgrace the city; now, the indigent exceed the eaſy. Methinks, the poor ought to be excuſed from ſolliciting themſelves about the public, and confine themſelves to their own daily cares. I have a firm belief, that, if we imitate our anceſtors, we ſhall both free ourſelves from the preſent calamities, and become preſervers of all Greece. In this view, I have ventured to appear in public, and pronounce this oration. Now, I deſire, that, upon a mature conſideration of the reaſons I have propoſed for a change, you will determine what you judge beſt for our city.

THE

THE EIGHTH

ORATION

OF

ISOCRATES.

The SUBJECT.

THIS oration has two parts: the first is, to perſuade the Athenians to grant the Chians, and their other allies, their liberty; and the ſecond, to abſtain from the ſovereignty at ſea. Againſt this laſt point, Ariſtides is ſaid to have publiſhed an oration, which oppoſes that of Iſocrates. This oration is in the deliberative kind; for it adviſes peace. The chief argument is drawn from utility. There is a great beauty in the exordium, and indeed throughout the whole oration.

THE EIGHTH ORATION of ISOCRATES.

THOSE who come hither, are uſed to ſay, that thoſe things which they are going to ſpeak of, are of the nobleſt nature, and worthy the city's utmoſt attention: but if there ever was a time when this might be ſaid of any affairs, methinks that I ſhall now handle, deſerves ſuch an exordium. We are aſſembled to deliberate about peace and war, which are of the higheſt importance in human life, and thoſe who conſult maturely, are more ſucceſsful than others. The importance, therefore, of our preſent ſubject is of this high nature. Now, I have frequently obſerved, that you make a great difference betwixt orators, and are attentive to ſome, but cannot ſuffer the voice of others. This, in reality, is no juſt wonder; for, in former times, you uſed to reject all ſuch as did not flatter your inclinations; which, I think, deſerves an impartial blame; for tho' you know many private houſes have been entirely ruined by flatteries, and deteſt ſuch perſons, that, in their private affairs, conduct themſelves in this manner, yet are not diſpoſed yourſelves in the ſame manner, in regard of the public management; for finding fault with the ſincere, and taking pleaſure in flatterers, you ſeem to put more confidence in ſuch than in other citizens: for you yourſelves have been the cauſe, that the orators ſtudy and meditate not ſo much what will be beneficial to the city, as what will pleaſe your hope and expectation; for which a croud of them is now flocked together: for it is evident to all, that you take

more

more pleaſure in thoſe who exhort you to war, than ſuch as give you more peaceable counſels. The firſt give you hopes, that you ſhall recover your poſſeſſions in the loſt cities, and eſtabliſh yourſelves again in the ſame which you had before. The ſecond promiſe nothing of this nature, but counſel you to be quiet, and not affect great matters contrary to juſtice, but be content with your preſent circumſtances; which is the moſt difficult of all things to the generality of mankind: for we ſo loſe ourſelves in airy hopes, and avariciouſly ſtretch after imaginary gain, that the very perſons, who are poſſeſſed of the greateſt accumulated riches, are not ſatisfied with them; but always deſiring more, hazard even their preſent poſſeſſions. I am afraid we are inſtigated with a like phrenzy at preſent; for I ſee ſome inflamed with a love of war, not as if vulgar perſons counſelled them, but as if they heard ſo many oracles of the gods, that all ſhall ſucceed to the wiſh, and we ſhall eaſily overcome all our enemies: but it becomes the prudent not to be always in counſel (for that is idle and trifling), but put in practice what they judge beſt; nor ever imagine they can judge with certainty of the event of public counſels. Let them know they reaſon but from opinion, and therefore let them acquieſce in the conſequences accordingly. Neither of which prudent methods do you follow, but are in the greateſt diſorder poſſible. You have met to chuſe, as it becomes you, the wiſeſt meaſures; and though you do know what is beſt to be done, yet you will hear none but ſuch as flatter you. But if you truly had the city's good at heart, you ought rather to be attentive to thoſe who oppoſe your ſentiments, than ſuch as fall in with your humours and weakneſſes; for you cannot be ignorant, that thoſe who practiſe ſuch artifices, are the moſt likely to deceive you: for artful flattery eaſily cloſes the eye to truth and ſincerity. But you can never ſuffer ſuch prejudice from thoſe who ſpeak the plain, naked truth; for ſuch cannot perſuade you, but by the clear demonſtrations of utility. Without this diſpoſition, how can men judge

of

of actions, or probably gueſs about futurity, unleſs they liſten to oppoſite counſellors, and make themſelves equitable hearers of both parties? I wonder at our elders, if they do not remember, and at our youth, if they have not heard it from others, that we never ſuffered by thoſe who adviſed us conſtantly to peace; but, on the contrary, that we ever were brought into great calamities by ſuch as raſhly adviſed us to war. But we vouchſafe not to remember any thing of this, nor do what concerns our preſent ſituation, but fill up the number of our gallies, make voluntary contributions, and aſſiſt thoſe, or fight againſt others, as it were, fortuitouſly. This happens to us, becauſe we do not, what we ought, take the ſame care of the public as we do of our private affairs. This you neglect to do; for when you conſult about your domeſtic intereſts, you ſeek out ſuch as are prudenter, and more adviſed than yourſelves; but, in reſpect of public management, you are diſtruſtful of ſuch men, and envy them, but praiſe the moſt abandoned ſycophants, who mount your roſtrum; and imagine, that the intoxicate are greater friends of the people than the moſt ſober and vigilant; and the raſh and frantic, better leaders than the rationally brave and courageous: in fine, ſuch as ſquander away the public revenues on worthleſs objects, more to be favoured than thoſe who have lightned the public's burden by their own generoſity: ſo that it is a real wonder, if any one can hope, that our city can proſper and flouriſh under ſuch directors. I know it is dangerous and difficult to oppoſe your ſentiments; and that, in this democratical ſtate, there is not a freedom of ſpeech permitted, but to ſuch as are the moſt imprudent, and have no real benevolence for their country; and in the theatres, for the farce and comedy writers. But what is the moſt extravagant in your conduct is, that you have a greater value for ſuch who expoſe the city's errors and faults to all Greece, than thoſe who are your public benefactors; and have ſuch a reſentment againſt thoſe who blame, and would correct you, as if they had done ſome

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particular injury to their country. But this being manifeſtly ſo, yet I will not digreſs from my intended ſubject; for I am come hither, not with a deſign of flattering you, or to procure for myſelf your votes, but of ſhewing my real ſentiments. Firſt, I ſhall mention what our conſuls have propoſed; and then the other affairs that concern the city: for we ſhall reap no benefit from what has now been concluded on in reſpect of peace, if we do not take prudent meaſures in relation to the reſt of our public œconomy.

I FIRST ſay, that we ought not only to make peace with the Chians, the Rhodians, the Byzantines, and Choans, but with all mankind; and not continue thoſe meaſures, which ſome have counſelled, but ſtand by thoſe treaties, which have been concluded with the Perſians and the Lacedæmonians, ſuffer all the Greeks to be free, draw our gariſons out of other cities, and let each be protected by its own power. None will ever find out more equitable reſolutions than theſe, or more conducive to the proſperity of the city. If I here break off my diſcourſe, I know I ſhall ſeem to prejudice the glory of the city; if the Thebans retain Theſpiæ, Platææ, and the other cities, which they have ſeized on, contrary to their ſolemn agreements, and we quit, without neceſſity, the places we are in poſſeſſion of. But if you hear me attentively to the end, I do not doubt but you will think all ſuch men guilty of downright madneſs, who judge oppreſſive and unjuſt actions to be gain; who would hold by violence thoſe cities, which are the property of others, nor foreſee the calamities, which muſt be the reſult of ſuch actions. I will, through the whole diſcourſe, endeavour to convince you of this.

BUT, firſt, let us conſider the topic of peace, and reflect, with attention, what we would moſt wiſh for in our preſent circumſtances; for if we come, in this reſpect, to a clear preciſion, and often caſt our eye back upon the hypotheſis, we ſhall paſs a ſounder judgment on the reſt. Would it not ſuffice you, if we ſhould inhabit with ſecurity this city, abound more in all things neceſſary and convenient,

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be at greater concord among ourſelves, and gain more eſteem from the reſt of Greece? Certainly it would: for it is my thorough perſuaſion, ſhould this be ſo, our city would ſoon recover its former flouriſhing condition. But war has deprived us of all theſe goods and advantages; it has made us poorer, obliged us to undergo many dangers, ſet us at variance with the reſt of the Grecians, and has diſtreſſed us in all reſpects: but if we make peace, and behave ourſelves as ſolemn covenants require, we ſhall poſſeſs our city in all ſafety, and be freed from all thoſe wars, dangers, and confuſion, into which we have brought ourſelves by a contrary conduct; and ſhall every day make advances towards a more flouriſhing condition, towards, I ſay, a greater affluence, be freed from tributes, ſhip-money, and the other burdens and charges of war; and, on the contrary, ſafely till the ground, ſail the ſeas, and employ ourſelves again with chearfulneſs in thoſe occupations, which had been interrupted by the horrors of war. We ſhall ſee our city's revenues doubled, become full of merchants and ſtrangers, and repleniſhed with ſojourners, which it is now almoſt void of. What is ſtill a greater advantage, we ſhall have all mankind our allies, not by compulſion, but inclination; not joining with us in the ſunſhine of proſperity, and deſerting us in adverſity, but adhering to us with that conſtancy which becomes ſincere friends and allies. Add to this, that what we cannot now obtain by war and expences, we ſhall eaſily then obtain by embaſſies and conventions. Nor imagine, that either Cherſobleptes will make war againſt us for Cherſoneſus, or Philip for Amphipolis, if they once ſee us practiſing equity, and not uſurping any thing which is the right of another. Now, they are not, without cauſe, afraid of having our city for a next neighbour; for they ſee we are not content with our preſent poſſeſſions, but are conſtantly deſiring and aiming at more. But ſhould we happily change our manners, and gain more eſteem, they will not only abſtain from our rights, but make us ſome conceſſions from their own;

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for it will be their intereſt, by guarding the authority of our city, to ſecure their own ſtates: nay, we may eaſily receive quietly ſuch a portion of land in Thrace, as not only to remedy all our wants, but even ſupply a competency to thoſe Greeks, who now ſtrole without fixed habitations; for if Athenodorus and Calliſtratus, tho' one was a private perſon, and the other a baniſhed man, could found cities, certainly we, who are ſuch a powerful people, may poſſeſs ourſelves of many ſuch places. Now, it undoubtedly becomes thoſe more, who claim the principality of Greece, to be leaders in ſuch actions, than at the head of a war, ſupported by mercenaries, which we are at preſent but too deſirous of.

Concerning what the embaſſadors promiſe, methinks, what I have ſaid will ſuffice, or perhaps ſome others may add from their own reaſoning; but I ſhould think, you ought not only to leave this aſſembly, after a reſolution upon peace, but ſhould likewiſe deliberate by what means we may beſt preſerve it, and not do what we have been accuſtomed to do, that is, be reduced in a ſhort time to the ſame ſtreights and tumults; nor how we may only gain a reſpite, but a perfect freedom from the like calamities. But nothing of this can be effected, until you are thoroughly convinced, that tranquillity is more uſeful and beneficial than being embarraſſed with too many affairs; that juſtice is preferable to injuſtice, and the care of your private affairs to the coveting of others properties: but none of the popular orators have dared to ſpeak to you upon this topic. I ſhall make theſe heads the greateſt part of my oration; for I ſee our happineſs conſiſts in a due care of theſe, and not in what we are now raſhly about putting in execution. Now, there is a neceſſity, that he, who will ſpeak out of the common track, and would change your ſentiments, ſhould touch upon many things, and protract his diſcourſes by many and long arguments, and recall ſome actions to mind again, blame ſome, praiſe others, and give advice in many inſtances; for, by all theſe means, it will be difficult for any one to perſuade you to keep a better œconomy. The whole affair appears to me

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in this light: all ſeem to me aiming after private emolument, and that they may have more than others; tho' they ſeem ignorant by what methods they can purchaſe this, and therefore differ widely in opinion about them: ſome, indeed, have very juſt notions, and ſuch as tend directly to happineſs; but others, ſuch as diametrically depart from it; which happens to this city: for we imagine, that, if we ſail on the ſeas with many gallies, and force the maritime cities to ſend tribute, as well as their reſpective deputies, we have done ſome notable matter; but we miſtake the truth: nothing of what we expected happens; but enmities, wars, and large expences, follow ſuch thoughtleſs enterprizes: and this juſtly; for in preceding times, by filling our hands thus too full, we fell into the utmoſt dangers; and, on the contrary, by our juſt government of the city, aſſiſting the oppreſſed, and not coveting what did not belong to us, we had the principality of all Greece deferred to our conduct; tho' we now, for a conſiderable time, have raſhly deſpiſed our countrymen: for ſome of us are arrived at that pitch of folly, that we think, indeed, injuſtice infamous, but yet profitable, and of great advantage in public and private life; that juſtice is indeed honourable, but unprofitable, and rather conducive to the good of others than of the poſſeſſors; having a wrong notion in believing; that it can ſo much benefit towards riches, fame, or the ſucceſs of actions or happineſs, as heroic virtue, and its ſeveral degrees of perfection: for, by the excellencies of the mind, and its noble qualities, we acquire all that we need in life. Wherefore, whoever neglect the improvement of the mind, obſerve not, that they are careleſs of the juſtneſs of their ſentiments, or of living more rationally and happily than others. I wonder, that any ſhould imagine, that ſuch as cultivate piety and juſtice, ſhould partake of leſs happineſs than the manifeſtly abandoned and wicked; and cannot perceive, that ſuch muſt certainly be more loved and rewarded both by gods and men: for I am ſatisfied, that the latter only obtain true riches, and the former, falſe ones. I rea-

ſon in this manner, on this account: I obſerve, that ſuch as love and practiſe injuſtice, and think uſurpation of their neighbours properties the greateſt advantage, are like wild beaſts enſnared by baits, who at firſt enjoy what they thus meet with, but ſoon after fall into the greateſt miſeries; but that thoſe, who live according to the rules of religion and equity, live ſecurely in this life, and have better hopes in regard of all futurity: and if this is not viſible in all, yet it is manifeſt in reſpect of the far greateſt number. Now, it becomes all wiſe men, ſince we cannot ſee diſtinctly into futurity, to chuſe what is moſt generally beneficial: but the abſurdity of thoſe men is the moſt flagrant, who allow juſtice to be the nobleſt ſtudy, and more acceptable to the gods than injuſtice, and yet that ſuch as embrace it, lead more miſerable lives than ſuch as embrace injuſtice. I here muſt wiſh, that it were as eaſy to perſuade others to the practice of virtue, as it is eaſy to praiſe it.

But I am afraid that I ſpeak in vain; for we have been a long time corrupted by perſons, who are capable of nothing but deception; who have ſuch a contempt of the people, and diſregard of their happineſs, that, when they have received bribes to declare war againſt others, they impudently aſſert, that we ought to imitate our anceſtors, nor ſuffer ourſelves to be deſpiſed, or let ſuch ſail unmoleſted on the ſeas, who will not pay us contributions. I would willingly aſk of ſuch men, which of our anceſtors they mean; whether thoſe who lived in the Perſian war, or thoſe who governed the republic before the Decelic wars and troubles? If they will have us like the latter, they might as well ſay, that we ought again to run the hazard of ſervitude: if they will have us reſemble thoſe who conquered at Marathon, and thoſe who were before them, how can they avoid the juſt imputation of groſs impudence, if they praiſe thoſe, and yet would have us to act contrary to their examples; and would have us to commit again ſuch errors, as I know not what to ſay of? I know not whether I ſhall be bold enough to ſpeak freely, as I am wont, the real truth, or,

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out of fear of your hatred, hold my tongue. But it ſeems proper I ſhould treat of this topic, tho' I ſee you more offended at ſuch as blame your conduct, than at thoſe who are authors of your calamities: but I ſhould be aſhamed, if I conſulted my own reputation, or intereſt, more than the proſperity and good of my country. It is therefore, I will dare to ſay, my duty, and the duty of others, who have the public management, to compoſe not the moſt pleaſant, but the moſt profitable orations. You muſt be ſenſible, that many and various remedies have been found for the cure of ſuch diſeaſes as are incident to the body; but, as for the mind, I will aſſert it, there is no other remedy for it, when it is infected by vice and error, than thoſe ſalutary moral diſcourſes as dare blame the hearers. In the ſecond place, how abſurd is it to undergo cauſtics, and the ſurgeons inſtruments, that we may be freed from pains, and yet reject orations, before we know whether they will benefit us or not?

I HAVE made this ſhort prefatory introduction, becauſe I am determined, in what follows, to diſſemble nothing, but to ſpeak my ſentiments with all freedom.

FOR who is there, who ſhould come as a ſtranger hither, who is uncorrupted with our reigning vices, but would conclude we were actually mad, or infatuated? who glory in, and boaſt of the actions of our anceſtors, and write panegyrics of their renown; but practiſe the quite contrary to what they believed their true glory. They continued making war upon the Barbarians, for the intereſts of Greece; but we have brought even thoſe, who had eſtabliſhed themſelves in Aſia, againſt our own countrymen. They freed the Grecian cities, and, by their generous aſſiſtance, had the principality deferred to their merits: but we, though we enſlave them, and act diametrically oppoſite to our anceſtors, are offended, that we do not inherit their honours; who are as far excelled by them of thoſe times, both in our minds and actions, as it was glorious for them to quit their native city for public good, and beat the Barbarians by ſea

and land; but we are unwilling to run the hazard of battle for our own advantages; and we expect to be placed at the head of all, tho' we dare not in perſon to appear in the field: and tho' we are raſh enough to proclaim war againſt all mankind, yet we take no precaution in exerciſing and preparing ourſelves for it; nay, for this intent, we chuſe fugitives, baniſhed men, renegadoes, and others ſtained with all manner of crimes, who, did any one offer them larger pay, would as willingly, if not more ſo, fight againſt us; but yet we cowardly pay them ſuch reſpect, that tho' they ſhould violate our very children, yet we are afraid of inflicting juſt puniſhment on them: and when accuſations come to us againſt them for rapine, oppreſſion, and injurious arrogance, we do not reſent it, but take pleaſure when we hear they act in a ſcandalous manner. We are, in ſhort, advanced to ſuch an extravagance of folly, that, tho' we want a daily competency, yet we will maintain ſtrangers, and plunder and lay taxes on our allies and colonies, that we may pay our common enemies. In fine, we are ſo much degenerated not only from our famous anceſtors, but even thoſe who were hated, that the latter, when they declared a war againſt an enemy, tho' the treaſury was full of ſilver and gold, yet would run the hazards of war in their own perſons; whereas we, tho' we are in ſuch viſible poverty, and have ſuch a number of idle hands, yet, like the oriental monarch, truſt our battles to hirelings. They, if they judged proper to man their gallies, made ſtrangers and ſlaves their galley-rowers; but they ſent out their citizens in compleat armour: on the contrary, we make uſe of foreigners as ſoldiers, and force our citizens to work our ſhips, and row, as I ſaid before, our gallies; ſo that thoſe, who claim precedency and command over others, when at any time they make a deſcent upon the enemies territories, come to ſhore as galley-ſlaves; but the foreign mercenaries appear as deſervedly well-armed ſoldiers.

Now, ſhould any one perceive the civil affairs of the city managed with a wiſe œconomy, perhaps he might hope well

well upon that account of the reſt; but, upon this account, he has moſt reaſon to be dejected. Certainly, it becomes us, we who glory in being the original inhabitants of this country, and to have firſt inhabited this city, it becomes us to ſet an example to all of a regular and well-ordered government; but we manage our affairs worſe, and in a more confuſed manner, than thoſe who have lately been formed into a colony: nay, we affect grandeur, and nobility of extraction, and yet we communicate more freely to foreigners this natural pretended honour, than even the Treballi and Leucani the privileges of their obſcure country. Tho' we have a multiplicity of laws, we ſo little heed them (for if you but hear one proof, you may judge of the reſt), that tho' bribery in a court of juſtice is condemned to death, if clearly proved, yet we chuſe, too often, notorious offenders for generals, and put that perſon at the head of affairs, who is moſt capable of ſpreading the infection of corruption the wideſt: and tho' we affect our preſent ſtate of government, as if the entire ſafety of the city conſiſted in it, yet we are ſenſible, that our democracy has flouriſhed in peace and public tranquillity, but has twice been diſſolved by wars, we are, notwithſtanding, angry with thoſe who counſel us to keep peace, as affecting an oligarchy; and imagine thoſe who incline you to war, lovers of a republic and liberty. Tho' we are the moſt experienced in eloquence and public events, yet we behave ſo fooliſhly, that we continue not an entire day in the ſame ſentiments; but even vote in our public aſſemblies for the very thing which we had ſeparately blamed; and, again, a little time after, when we are at home, we condemn what we our ownſelves gave ſanction to: and tho' we lay claim to diſtinguiſhed prudence, yet we make uſe of ſuch counſellors, as any wiſe man would have in contempt; and truſt the national affairs to ſuch, as no one would truſt with his private affairs. But the laſt inſtance of our degeneracy is, that we judge the moſt profligate the propereſt guardians of the ſtate; and though we think our inmates like the patrons whom they chuſe, yet

we imagine we ſhall not be thought to reſemble thoſe, whom we ſo inconſiderately promote; nay, we are ſo different from our anceſtors, that tho' they elected the ſame perſons both governors of the city and generals of their armies, becauſe, they judged, that ſuch as ſpoke moſt prudently in the roſtrum, would probably reaſon the moſt wiſely by themſelves; yet we are ſo far from doing ſo, that we vouchſafe to chuſe, for generals, thoſe whom we ſuffer not to be counſellors in momentous affairs, as if they had not proper qualifications and underſtanding; and we ſend out, with abſolute power, thoſe whom none would take the advice of, either in regard of private or public concerns, as if they would become wiſer abroad, and would take prudenter meaſures for the common good of all, than for the execution of what is propoſed in this ſenate.

I SAY not this of all, but of thoſe who are guilty of what I have laid before you. I ſhould ſpend all the remainder of the day, if I endeavoured to enumerate all the tranſgreſſions, all the errors, in reſpect of our public actions: perhaps, ſome one of thoſe, who are moſt guilty of what I have ſaid, will aſk, with indignation, How then, if we conſult the public intereſt ſo careleſsly, are we ſtill preſerved, and have equal power with any other city? I anſwer, we have antagoniſts, who conſult their own good no better than ourſelves; for if the Thebans, after their conqueſt of the Lacedæmonians, having freed Peloponneſus, and left the other Greeks the exerciſe of their own laws, had continued quiet, and we had committed ſuch groſs faults, the mouths of my interrogators would have been cloſed, and we ſhould have been made ſenſible how much better it is to act with moderation, than be engaged in too many affairs. Now, things are in ſuch a condition, that the Thebans ſaved us, and we, in turn, the Thebans; and they, in ſome meaſure, make us their allies, and we them: ſo that, were we both prudent, we ſhould bribe each other to call frequent aſſemblies; for thoſe who moſt frequently do ſo, are the cauſe, that their rivals improve the ſtate of their affairs. But certainly

certainly it behoves thoſe, who have the leaſt ſhare of wiſdom, not to place their hopes in their adverſaries miſtakes, but in their own actions and minds; for whatever good may befall us by others ignorance, it may fortuitouſly have an end, or be changed; but what good happens to us by our own conduct, will be more ſolid and laſting.

Now, it is no difficult matter to refute cavillers; but if any one of thoſe, who ſtand by, and are of a more moderate diſpoſition, ſhould ſay, I ſpeak truth, and juſtly blame our actions; yet ſhould add, it were but juſt, that a benevolent corrector would not only blame our miſmanagement, but ſhew how, by abſtaining from ſome things, and purſuing others, we may amend our diſpoſition, and put an end to our faults: this reaſoning would puzzle me, not only to give a true and beneficial anſwer to, but ſuch a one as would be agreeable to your inclinations. Wherefore, ſince I have begun to ſpeak clearly, I muſt not delay here to open my ſentiments on this head. I think I have mentioned before, that it becomes them, who would be truly happy, to be poſſeſſed of piety, temperance, juſtice, and other virtues. Now, tho' I am going to lay down a true method how we may be the ſooneſt inſtructed in, and poſſeſſed of theſe virtues, yet what I ſhall ſay may appear offenſive to ſome, and differ widely from the ſentiments of others. I judge therefore, that we ſhall govern our commonwealth more prudently, be better ourſelves, and be more proſperous in our affairs, if we quit our claim to the ſovereignty of the ſeas; for this claim is the cauſe which has thrown us into our preſent troubles, and has diſſolved the democracy, during which our anceſtors were the happieſt of all Greece, and indeed has been, I will affirm it, the cauſe of almoſt all the calamities we undergo ourſelves, or have brought others into. I know how difficult it is for him, who accuſes a form of government beloved of all, and vindicated by war, to be thought to advance any thing reaſonable; yet, ſince you have borne with what has been ſaid before, which was true, but liable to odium, I beg of you, that you will hear

what I have now to ſay, nor condemn me of ſuch folly, as to advance before you paradoxes incredible, unleſs I could give a demonſtration of the truth of my propoſitions. Now, I believe I can evidence that we neither deſire a juſt power, or ſuch a one as is poſſible, or would be uſeful to us.

THAT we deſire what is unjuſt, I can convince you by your own behaviour; for when the Lacedæmonians held the ſame power, what declamations did we not make, whilſt we accuſed their dominion, and ſaid loudly, that all the Grecians ought to be governed by their own laws? What cities of Greece did we not invite to our alliance, when we purpoſed to make war againſt them upon this account? How many embaſſies did we ſend to the great king, to inform him, that it was not juſt or profitable, that one Grecian city ſhould be miſtreſs of all others? Nor did we deſiſt from carrying on war both by ſea and land, till the Lacedæmonians conſented to the univerſal liberty of Greece. That it is not therefore equitable, the ſtronger ſhould lord it over the weaker, we were ſenſible at that time, and are ſo now by the œconomy of our preſent republic.

AND that we cannot eſtabliſh ſuch a power, I think, I can quickly demonſtrate: for if, when our treaſury contained a thouſand talents, we could not maintain it, how ſhall we, in our preſent indigence, acquire ſuch a ſovereignty? eſpecially ſince we follow the very inſtitutes and morals by which we loſt, and not obtained it.

BUT that it is not even expedient to accept it, were it offered us, I think you may hence eaſily perceive yourſelves. But I chuſe to ſpeak briefly on this head; for I am afraid, leſt I ſhould ſeem diſpoſed to ſatirize our city, becauſe I am often obliged to blame your conduct: and did I ſpeak in this manner before others of our mal-adminiſtration, I ſhould juſtly incur the cenſure; but, ſpeaking thus only to you, I do not deſire to traduce you to ſtrangers, but perſuade you to abſtain from diſgraceful actions, and eſtabliſh peace (to promote which I have made this diſcourſe), not only in reſpect of our country, but of all Greece. Yet

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there is a neceſſity, that they who admoniſh as well as accuſe, ſhould uſe ſimilar words, but ſuch as will have very different ſenſes. Wherefore you ought not to judge in the like manner of thoſe who uſe the ſame expreſſions; but deteſt thoſe who injuriouſly reproach you, as ill-affectioned to the city: on the contrary, praiſe ſuch as admoniſh you for your good, and think them better than other citizens; and him the very beſt, who can moſt clearly demonſtrate bad actions, and ſhew the calamities which ariſe from them: for ſuch a one will moſt eaſily make you hate what you ought, and love what is eligible. As for the harſhneſs of my preceding words, as well as of thoſe I may uſe hereafter, I hope this will ſerve as an apology.

I WILL begin again where I broke off. I ſaid, you would hence have the juſteſt idea, that it is not expedient we ſhould retain the ſovereignty of the ſeas, if you conſider the adminiſtration of our city before the poſſeſſion of this power, and its diſordered condition afterwards: I ſay, if you conſider this in a parallel view, you will perceive how many calamities it has been the ſource of to our city; for it is certain, that the then republic was as far better than the preſent, as Ariſtides, Themiſtocles, and Miltiades, were more excellent men than Hyperbolus and Cleophantes, who now harangue the people. You will alſo find the people who then had the power, neither addicted to ſloth, diſtreſſed by poverty, or filled with vain hopes; but, on the contrary, capable of conquering all who invaded their country, and worthy to have deſerved the chief honours for defending Greece; and ſo diſtinguiſhed by their probity, that many cities put themſelves voluntarily under their protection. But things having been formerly in this condition, by ſuch a wiſe conduct, this uſurped power has brought us into ſuch a vicious ſtate, as no man will ever praiſe; and tho', by that form of government, we conquered all the enemies who dared to invade us, our preſent miſmanagement has ſo debaſed our citizens, that they even dare not meet their enemies before their own walls; and, inſtead of that benevolence of our allies towards

towards us, and that glory ſpread over all Greece, we are fallen into ſuch odium, that our city was like to have been taken, had we not experienced the Lacedæmonians, who, in the beginning, had war with us, more benevolent than thoſe who before had been our allies; whom we cannot accuſe juſtly of having a malignant diſpoſition towards us: for they were not aggreſſors, but repelled our injuries, and, after having ſuffered many calamities, took ſuch a reſentment againſt us. And who could poſſibly have borne with the arrogancy of our fathers? who, collecting out of all Greece the idleſt, moſt cowardly, and thoſe ſtained with all manner of villainies, filled with this ſcum their fleets, and expoſed themſelves to the odium of all the Grecians; nay, expelled the very beſt in other cities, and gave away their inheritances to the very baſeſt. But, did I dare to lay open all that was done in thoſe times, perhaps I might effect, that you would take prudenter meaſures for the future; but I ſhould certainly thereby expoſe myſelf to an accuſation: for you are accuſtomed to hate the perſons who reprehend crimes, more than thoſe who are the very authors of them; wherefore, ſince you are of ſuch a diſpoſition, I am afraid, leſt, while I endeavour to do you good, I may ſuffer evil for it myſelf; yet I will not entirely deſiſt from what I deſigned to ſay; but I will omit thoſe things which are the moſt grievous, and would wound your delicacy, and I ſhall only mention ſuch actions, whereby you may perceive the ſtupidity and folly of thoſe who had then the reins of government: for they ſo diligently ſtudied what would render them odious, that they decreed the money ariſing from taxes, after they had divided it into talents, ſhould be expended upon the orcheſtra of the Bacchanals. When the theatre was full, they did what I have mentioned, and introduced the children of thoſe who had fallen in war; ſhewing, to their allies, the lucre they had gained by hirelings, and, to all the other Greeks, the multitude of orphans, and the other calamities, which had befallen by their avarice and injuſtice: and, acting in this manner, they reckoned

koned the city fortunate, and many thoughtleſs perſons believed ſo too. Thus they had no foreſight of what would happen upon this account, but admired and praiſed the unjuſt riches which came into the city, and were ſhortly to moth-eat and deſtroy thoſe which had been juſtly acquired; nay, they fell at laſt into ſuch a neglect of their domeſtic affairs, and an inſatiable thirſt after what belonged to others, that, tho' the Lacedæmonians had invaded their lands, and the Decelic wall was built, they manned their gallies for Sicily, nor were aſhamed, while they ſuffered their own country to be torn and plundered, to ſend an army againſt thoſe who had never injured us; nay, they even came to that pitch of frenzy, that, tho' they were not maſters of their own ſuburbs, they hoped to govern Italy, Sicily, and Carthage. They, at laſt, ſo far exceeded all mankind in madneſs, that, tho' others are apt to be humbled and rendered moderate by adverſities, they were not corrected by this, altho' they fell into more calamities, while they held the ſovereignty of the ſeas, than had ever befallen the city in all former times. Two hundred of our ſhips, which ſailed into Egypt, were all loſt or deſtroyed; at Cyprus there periſhed a hundred and fifty; they loſt in Pontus ten thouſand native ſoldiers and allies; but, in Sicily, they loſt forty thouſand men, and two hundred and forty gallies; and, laſtly, in the Helleſpont, two hundred. But were I to mention the other ſhips which periſhed, five or ten at a time, or thoſe men that were ſlain, to the amount of one or two thouſand, it would be an endleſs labour. Thus, theſe calamities and deaths happening in an annual circle, they raiſed ſepulchres yearly; to which flocked crouds of neighbours and other Greeks, not with an intention of lamenting the dead, but to exult with joy at our misfortunes; yet they were ignorant all this while, that they were not only filling the public ſepulchres with the bodies of citizens, but the tribes and companies, with inmates and foreigners. We may know from hence the multitude of thoſe who periſhed; for we ſhall find, that the chief and nobleſt families, which

had

had ſurvived tyrannical factions, and the Perſian war, were entirely ruined by that government, which we are ſo deſirous of. Wherefore, if any one would conſider the reſt, and refer all to this as an example, we ſhall appear another people; for we ought not to judge that city happy, which collects a number of citizens from all ſides, but which preſerves, with all care, thoſe who held it from the beginning: we ought not to emulate ſuch as ſeize upon a tyrannical power, or ſuch as ſtretch their authority beyond equity; but ſuch as are indeed worthy of the greateſt honour, yet contented with the free, honorary rewards of the people. No private perſon, no city can acquire either a better, a ſafer, or more deſirable power than this; by which rule thoſe conducting themſelves, who were cotemporary with the Perſian war, did not live like robbers; ſometimes having more than enough, and, at others, being to ſtruggle with want of bread, and involved in ſieges, and the greateſt of calamities: but they had neither a ſcarcity of daily food, nor ſuperfluity, and gloried in the equity of their adminiſtration, their perſonal virtues, and the enjoyment of a happier life than others; which their poſterity neglecting, did not endeavour to maintain the principality, but inveſt themſelves with tyranny; which ſeems to be near the ſame, but is widely different: for it is the duty of rulers to make their ſubjects happier by their care; but it is the cuſtom of tyrants to procure themſelves pleaſures by the pains and labour of other men. Now, there is a neceſſity, that thoſe who attempt ſuch actions, ſhould fall in the damages attending on tyrants, and ſuffer themſelves what they make others ſuffer: which has happened to our city; for, inſtead of gariſoning other towns, they have ſeen others maſters of that which belongs to them; inſtead of receiving the children of others for hoſtages, which were taken from their parents, many of the citizens were forced, during the ſiege, to inſtruct and educate their children in a worſe manner than was becoming; and, inſtead of tilling the lands of others, it was not permitted them, for ſome years, even to ſee their own. Now,

ſhould

ſhould any one aſk us, if, reigning for ſuch a time, we would bear to ſee our city in this deplorable caſe? Who is he, except he be entirely mad, or regards neither the religious rites, his parents, his children, or any thing elſe beſide that time he lives in, who would dare to give his aſſent? None of thoſe ſentiments ought we to approve, but much rather theirs, who have taken all poſſible care of the ſtate, and contended not more earneſtly for their own than for the public glory; who, in fine, chuſe a moderate life with juſtice, rather than great riches with injuſtice: for our anceſtors, by behaving themſelves thus, tranſmitted down to their poſterity a moſt flouriſhing republic, and left an immortal remembrance of their virtues. From whence we may learn both theſe truths, that our country can produce more excellent men than any other can, and this government, as it is called, tho' in reality a detriment, is naturally diſpoſed to make all thoſe the worſe who uſe it. This is the greateſt proof; for it has not only corrupted ours, but the Lacedæmonian city; ſo that thoſe who were accuſtomed to praiſe their virtues, cannot ſpeak in this manner; that we, upon account of being ſubjected to popular power, have managed our affairs ill, but that, had the Lacedæmonians the ſame power, they would have made others and themſelves happy; for it has more quickly ſhewn its nature in them: it has not only ſhaken, but was near entirely diſſolving that polity, which none ever knew, during ſeven hundred years, to have been either moved by dangers or loſſes; for, inſtead of their accuſtomary manners, it has filled the people with injuſtice, idleneſs, neglect of laws, and avarice, and the whole community with contempt of allies, deſire of others property, ſetting light by oaths and covenants: for they ſo far exceeded ours in tranſgreſſions againſt the Greeks, that, beſides what had happened before, they added maſſacres and ſeditions; whereby the Greeks entertain, amongſt one another, irreconcileable enmities; and they became ſuch lovers of war and hazards, though, in former times, they had more cautiouſly

avoided

avoided ſuch things, that they neither abſtained their hands from their allies or benefactors; but tho' the king had ſupplied them with above a thouſand talents, and the Chians, as their readieſt allies, had fought with their naval forces in concert with them, and the Thebans had contributed greatly to their land-forces; yet they no ſooner gained the principality, but they laid ſnares for the Thebans, ſent an army and Clearchus againſt the king, drove the chief citizens of Chios into baniſhment, and carried off by violence all their gallies from the havens. This did not ſuffice them; but, at the ſame time, they laid waſte the continent, inſulted the iſlands, annihilated the republics conſtituted in Italy and Sicily, and erected monarchies: they afflicted Peloponneſus, and filled it with wars and ſeditions. Againſt what city did they not march their armies? and what allies did they not injure? Did they not take from the Eleans a part of their lands? did they not plunder the territory of Corinth? ſeparate the Mantineans into villages? ſack the city of the Phliaſians? invade the country of the Argives? or did they ever deſiſt from injuring others, and preparing for themſelves the calamity at Leuctra? which defeat ſome affirm, though not truly, to be the cauſe of all their miſeries; for they did not become odious to their allies for this, but for their inſults in former times; they were conquered in the battle, and were in danger of loſing their own country. We ought not to refer the cauſe to thoſe calamities which happened in the end, but to theſe miſdemeanours which brought them to this concluſion. Wherefore, would not a perſon ſpeak more truly, ſhould he affirm, that the origin of their calamities was derived from acquiring the ſovereignty of the ſeas, and a power that was different from what they had before? for, by the diſcipline of their land-government, and the patience of labour which they exerciſed in it, they eaſily obtained the ſovereignty of the ſeas: but, by their inſolence, which came to them with this power, they were deprived of their former authority; for they no longer obſerved the laws, which they had received from

from their anceſtors, nor remained conſtant in thoſe inſtiſtutes which they had kept before; but, whilſt they thought they might act as they pleaſed, they fell into many troubles: for they did not reflect how intractable a thing that power is which all deſire, and how it renders delirious thoſe who love it; nor that it is of the diſpoſition of thoſe miſtreſſes, who allure us indeed to love them, but ruin thoſe who continue to adhere to them. It is evident, that it has this effect; for any one, by the example of us and the Lacedæmonians, may ſee, that thoſe who have acquired the greateſt power, have fallen into the greateſt diſtreſſes. Thoſe cities, which before governed with the greateſt moderation, and obtained the brighteſt glory, as ſoon as they acquired ſuch power, and received the ſovereignty, no ways differed from each other; but, after the manner of thoſe who are infected with the ſame luſts and diſorders, they attempted the ſame crimes, fell into the ſame vices, and, at length, ſuffered the ſame calamities: for we, having become odious to our allies, were in danger of captivity, and were ſaved by the Lacedæmonians; and they, when all ſought their ruin, found a refuge in us. Now, who can praiſe a power which has ſuch fatal events? Why ſhould we not hate and avoid it, which inclined both cities to commit ſuch grievous actions, and brought them to ſuffer ſuch miſeries? Nor is it to be wondered at, if formerly all were ignorant, that this power was a ſource of ſuch diſtreſſes to thoſe who poſſeſſed it, or was ſought for by war, both by us and the Lacedæmonians. You will find moſt of mankind to err in the choice of things, and be diſordered by more ſtrong deſires of what is bad than good, and counſel their enemies better than themſelves. This may be ſeen in the greateſt affairs. What does not happen in this manner? Did we not chuſe to do ſuch things, as rendered the Lacedæmonians maſters of Greece; and they adminiſtered their affairs ſo ill, that we not many years after, as it were, emerged, and were made arbitrators of their ſafety? Did not the ſedulity of thoſe, who favoured the Attic party, cauſe cities to join the Lacedæmonians;

cedæmonians; and the inſolence of the Lacedæmonians oblige them to revert to us? Did not the very people, upon account of the improbity of the public orators, wiſh for that oligarchy, which was conſtituted in the time of the four hundred? and were not all of us made more popular in our inclinations for the madneſs of the thirty tyrants, than even thoſe who ſeized Phyle? Now, even in ſmall things, and daily life, we may perceive many perſons, who are pleaſed with ſuch meats and exerciſes as prejudice body and mind; who think laborious and hard what benefits both; and who judge thoſe men of reſolution, that continue in ſuch perverſe inſtitutes and manners. If therefore, in theſe very things which men are converſant about, and take more care of, it is clear they chuſe the worſe, what wonder, if they miſtake in the affair of maritime empire, and wage war with one another for what they never reaſoned about the nature of? Obſerve, how many lovers monarchies raiſed in free cities have who are ready to ſuffer any thing to obtain them. Are they not, as ſoon as they have acquired them, involved in ſuch calamities, that they are forced to make war againſt all the citizens, and hate thoſe who never did them an injury? diſtruſt their friends and allies? truſt the ſafety of their bodies to the faith of mercenaries, whom they are ignorant of, and be in no leſs apprehenſion from thoſe who guard them, than thoſe who lay ambuſcades for them; nay, be of ſuch a ſuſpicious temper, that, while they are in company with their moſt intimate acquaintance, be ſtill diffident? for they very well know, that thoſe who made themſelves deſpotic before them, periſhed, ſome of them by their parents, ſome by their children, ſome by their brothers, and others by their wives; and their race was exterminated from the face of the earth: yet they voluntarily expoſed themſelves to ſo many calamities. Now, if the chief of mankind, and thoſe who have acquired the greateſt glory, expoſe themſelves to ſo many evils, why ſhould we wonder others are deſirous of the like things?

I AM

I AM not ignorant, that you approve of an oration againſt tyrants; but you bear with diſpleaſure that which touches upon your own rule. Something very diſgraceful happens to you; for what you perceive in others, you cannot perceive in yourſelves. But, ſurely, it is not the ſmalleſt proof of wiſe men to judge always the ſame in regard of the ſame actions. You have never taken care of this; and you judge tyrannical governments pernicious, and full of trouble, not only to others, but to the poſſeſſors themſelves; but the ſovereignty of the ſea, the cauſe of the greateſt good, which no ways differs, either in calamities or violent actions, from tyrannies. As for the Theban affairs, you think they are in a bad ſituation, on account of their injuring their neighbours; yet, tho' you manage, with no more equity, your allies intereſts, than they govern Bœotia, you judge, you do all that is neceſſary. If you therefore will liſten to me, omitting all other concerns, you will turn your minds to yourſelves and the ſtate, and will ſtudy and conſider what it was that made ours and the Lacedæmonian city, from ſmall beginnings, riſe ſo highly as to govern all Greece; and, after they had got immenſe power, be reduced to the danger of captivity: for what reaſons, likewiſe, the Theſſalians, though they had received great riches from their anceſtors, and acquired a great and extenſive power, ſhould be reduced to penury; why the Megarenſes, tho' their republic was ſmall and weak in the beginning, tho' they had not lands, nor ports, nor ſilver-mines, but inhabited rocks, now have the moſt ſplendid poſſeſſions amongſt the Greeks; and why ſtrangers always gariſon the towns of the former, tho' they have three thouſand horſe, and innumerable ſhield-men; and why the latter govern their own ſtate at pleaſure, though they have but a ſmall power: on the contrary, why the others are always in civil war; laſtly, why the former, tho' they inhabit betwixt the Peloponneſians, Thebans, and our city, enjoy a perpetual, uninterrupted peace. If you conſider theſe circumſtances, and the like, you will find, that intemperance and injuſtice have been the cauſe of all theſe

evils; and moderation and equity of the contrary goods: yet you yourſelves judge, that ſuch as preſerve this œconomy in their private affairs, are the moſt deſerving of praiſe, and live the moſt ſafe and happy of all citizens; but think, at the ſame time, that the public is not obliged to this method. Now, certainly, it becomes cities, more than private perſons, to practiſe virtue, and avoid vice. An irreligious, wicked man may, by chance, die before he ſuffers for his miſdeeds; but cities, on account of their immortality, undergo both the puniſhment of gods and men. You ought therefore, reflecting on this, not to liſten to flatterers, and diſregard futurity; or eſteem thoſe who ſay they love the people, but prejudice the whole city: for did not theſe men, when they had got the power of the roſtrum, ſo infatuate the city, that it fell into all thoſe calamities which I have mentioned to you before? But what deſerves admiration is, that you have ſuch men as are not of the ſame ſentiments with thoſe who rendered the city flouriſhing, but ſuch as ſpeak and act like thoſe who ruined it: I ſay, tho' you know this, that the good do not only differ from the bad in this point, that they render the city happy, but the republic, under ſuch, has been unſhaken and unchanged; whereas, under the others, in a ſhort time twice unhinged and deſtroyed; and, finally, that thoſe who were recalled from baniſhment, which they underwent in time of the tyrants and the thirty, were not recalled by ſycophants, but thoſe who deteſted them, and had obtained the greateſt glory by their virtues: I ſay, tho' we have theſe examples before us, by which we may judge how the city has acted under both; yet we are ſo pleaſed with the villainy of popular orators, that tho' we know, that, by theſe wars and tumults which have been ſtirred up by them, many of the citizens have loſt their ſubſtance, while themſelves of poor are become rich, we are neither filled with indignation nor envy at their proſperity; but we ſuffer the city to be accuſed of concuſſions and oppreſſions, while we quietly let theſe men reap the benefit, and let the people, whom they ſay,

ought

ought to govern others, live more unhappily than such as serve an oligarchy; while we permit those, who had no conveniencies of life, by our imprudence, to become flourishing and opulent. But Pericles, who presided before these men, tho' he received the city not so sound in judgment as before the sovereignty, yet still tolerably œconomized, did not hasten at full-speed to raise an estate, but left his family less affluent than it had been from his father's fortune, and brought into the citadel eight thousand talents, besides what served for religious pomps. But these men are so different from him, that they are not ashamed to say, that, on account of their care of the public, they cannot attend to their private affairs; yet, what they pretend to be so negligent of, have received such an encrease, as once before they durst not even have prayed to the gods for: but as for the populace, whom, they say, they take such care of, they are in such a condition, that none live easily, or with good spirits, but the city is full of lamentations; some of them commemorate and bewail to themselves their poverty and misery; others, the multitude of edicts and public offices, and what regards tributes and exactions: which considerations cause such grief, that they live less pleasantly who have possessions, than they who are constantly poor. I wonder you do not observe, that no sort of men is worse affected to the populace, than wicked orators and ministers. And, besides other calamities, they would have the people indigent of daily food; for they see such as can maintain themselves of the city's party, and in the interest of those who speak the most salutarily; but that such, who live by public assemblies, and judgments, and such ways, to be at their devotion on account of poverty, and to think themselves obliged for so many accusations, public calumnies, and all variety of sycophantism. Wherefore they would gladly see the whole city in that necessity and indigence, whereby they govern the citizens. This is an evident proof they have not this in view, viz. whereby they may make the necessitous easy, but whereby they may equal those, who

have a competency, with the diſtreſſed. What remedy can be applied to theſe preſent evils? I have mentioned many things, not in order indeed, but as each occurred conveniently. Now, you will more eaſily retain them in memory, if, after I have recapitulated what is neceſſary, I endeavour to run them over. It is in our power to rectify the miſtakes of the city, and make it better by theſe means. Firſt, if we employ ſuch perſons in public counſels, as we would deſire to have in our private affairs, and no longer eſteem hypocrites lovers of the populace, and good and honeſt men affecters of an oligarchy; knowing, as we muſt, that no man is either by nature, but that as each ſort of men are honoured in the ſtate, ſo they chuſe a form of government. In the ſecond place, if we treat our ſubjects as our friends, nor give them, as it were, their own full liberty, but, in fact, expoſe them as a prey to our generals; nor preſide over them as lords, but as allies; convinced of this truth, that tho' we are ſuperior to any ſingle city, yet we are inferior to all together. In the third place, if we eſteem nothing more, after ſincere religion towards the gods, than to be honoured by the Greeks; for, to perſons ſo diſpoſed, they will naturally entruſt the ſovereignty and themſelves. If you continue in theſe maxims, and, beſides, render yourſelves warlike by exerciſe and preparation, and affectionate of peace by equity, you will not only make this city happy, but all Greece; for no other city will dare to injure them, but all will fear, and reſt in peace, when they ſee, that our city is looking on, as from a watch-tower, and ready to aſſiſt the oppreſſed. But let them act as they will, our affairs will not fail of going on proſperouſly; for whether it will pleaſe the more powerful cities to abſtain from injuſtices, we ſhall be eſteemed the authors; or, if they do attempt to injure others, all who fear, or are oppreſſed, will fly to us, offering us prayers and ſupplications, and not only giving us the pre-eminency, but putting themſelves under our patronage. Wherefore we ſhall not want ſuch, by whoſe aſſiſtance we may quell the delinquents, but ſhall

have

have many who will readily aſſiſt us. What city, what man, will not deſire to be partaker of our friendſhip and alliance, when they will ſee us both the juſteſt and moſt powerful, and, at the ſame time, both willing and able to ſave others, and yet want no aſſiſtance ourſelves? What a glorious encreaſe of happineſs muſt our city receive, when others are thus benevolently affected towards it? What a flood of riches will flow in on all ſides, when all Greece is preſerved by us? Who will not praiſe the authors of ſo many and great goods? But I cannot, upon account of my age, mention all particulars, which yet I have an idea of in my mind; but only this, that it would be glorious, if, amidſt the injuſtices and madneſs of others, we ſhould firſt, recovering our ſenſes, conſult the liberty and ſafety of the Greeks, and not be called their common plague, or diſgrace the high reputation which our anceſtors acquired by their virtues. I have this chief head to mention, to which all this diſcourſe bears, and by which we ought to judge of the actions of the city. We ought, I ſay, if we would blot out all accuſations, which we are now charged with, to abſtain from all raſh wars, poſſeſs the perpetual pre-eminency, hate all tyrannical governments and powers, while we conſider the calamities which ariſe from them, and emulate and imitate the Lacedæmonian kingdom; for it is leſs permitted their kings to commit injuſtice, than private perſons. But thoſe kings are ſo much the more happy than thoſe who are poſſeſſed of tyrannical power, as thoſe who ſlay tyrants receive from their fellow-citizens the moſt ſplendid gifts; but theſe, who dare not die for their kings in battle, are treated with more ignominy than ſuch as deſert their ranks, or throw away their ſhields. Now, certainly, ſuch ſovereignty is deſirable. It is, doubtleſs, in our power, by a ſimilar conduct, to acquire ſuch an honour from all Greece, as the Lacedæmonian kings have from their citizens, if the Grecians are ſatisfied, that our power is not conſtituted for their ſlavery, but ſafety.

THO' great variety of arguments remain to ſupport my theſis, yet both theſe motives, the length of my oration, and the number of my years, perſuade me to finiſh my diſcourſe. But I exhort the younger, and thoſe who are in their vigour, to ſpeak and write ſuch things, whereby they may diſſuade the greateſt cities, and which have been accuſtomed to violence, to quit ſuch practices, and apply themſelves to the ſtudy of virtue and juſtice; becauſe, in the public felicity of all Greece, philoſophers and men of letters will find their condition much bettered, and their happineſs, with the public, augmented.

THE

THE NINTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES,
IN PRAISE OF
EVAGORAS.

The SUBJECT.

THIS is a funeral panegyric of Evagoras, king of Salamis in Cyprus, who was Nicocles's father, for whom the second and third orations were written. First, he says, that nothing can be more pleasing to Evagoras, than to have his noble actions celebrated in an eloquent, splendid manner, which he shews to be difficult: then specifying, from his youth, his distinguished virtues, he exhorts his son to imitate them. The picture of so great a hero is here drawn, as it were, by the pencil of Apelles; and he is described victorious over all the persecutions of fortune. There are fine admonitions mixed in it, with delicate praise,

THE NINTH ORATION of ISOCRATES, IN PRAISE OF EVAGORAS.

WHEN I ſaw you, O Nicocles! ornamenting your father's funeral, not only with the multitude and beauty of your donations, but with dances, muſic, and gymnaſtic games, as likewiſe with naval and horſe-races, nor omitting any magnificence of this kind; I judged, that Evagoras (if there be any ſenſe in the dead of what is done on earth), would receive all theſe things kindly, and take a pleaſure in ſeeing your care of him, and ſplendid behaviour; but that he would ſtill think himſelf more obliged, than for all things elſe, if any one ſhould explain worthily his ſtudies, and thoſe dangers which he ran in the execution of his noble actions; for we ſhall find men, who love honour, and are great-minded, not only deſirous of praiſe beyond things of this nature, but even chuſing death with encomium, rather than life itſelf, and more emulous of glory, than of old age; doing all that lies in their power to leave an immortal remembrance behind them. Expences of this nature conclude in nothing, but are an indication of affluence. As for thoſe who profeſs muſic, and exerciſes of that kind, ſome of them ſhew their own faculties, and others their arts, whereby they render themſelves more glorious. But ſhould any one, by an oration, worthily

worthily repreſent his actions, ſuch a one would render the virtues of Evagoras eternized amongſt mankind. Now, it is more proper, that contemporaries ſhould be praiſed, who have been good men, that thoſe who are capable of ornamenting the actions of the antients, might, amongſt the intelligent, uſe true panegyric, and the moderns might be more ſtirred up to virtue; knowing well, that they themſelves will be praiſed more than thoſe whom they have excelled in merit. But who now almoſt would not deſpond, when he ſees thoſe who lived about the Trojan war, and before theſe times, celebrated by hymns and tragedies; but foreſees, that he, tho' he ſhould excel them in heroic qualities, will not be vouchſafed ſuch praiſes? The cauſe of this is envy, which has no other good in it, but that it is the greateſt torment to thoſe who are influenced by it; for ſome perſons are ſo moroſely diſpoſed, that they more willingly hear the praiſes of ſuch, whom they know not ever to have exiſted, than of thoſe whom they have received good from. But we ſhould not be enſlaved by ſuch men, who have ſo perverſe a mind; we ſhould neglect ſuch, and accuſtom others to liſten to what it is juſter they ſhould hear of; eſpecially ſince we ſee all the improvements of arts, and all things, not to have been made by thoſe who followed a beaten track, but by thoſe who corrected former methods, and dared always to change ſomething in what was not perfect and compleat.

I KNOW it is difficult to praiſe the virtue of a diſtinguiſhed perſon in an oration: and this is an evident proof; for thoſe, who are converſant in philoſophy, have dared to ſpeak about all other ſubjects, but none of them have hitherto attempted this topic. I pardon them; for the poets have many opportunities of ornamenting, who are permitted to make gods converſant with, and aſſiſting, whom they pleaſe; and explain themſelves not only in cuſtomary, but in foreign, new, and metaphorical expreſſions; nor omit any colouring, but vary their poetry as much as poſſible. Now, nothing of this is permitted in orations; but orators are obliged

to

to ſpeak plainly, and uſe ſuch words and arguments as are uſual upon their topics. Beſides, the former have both meaſure and numbers, but the latter are deſtitute of ſuch advantages; which are of ſo great efficacy, that, though the diction and ſentiment ſhould be deficient, yet, by the art of harmony and verſification, the poets can engage the attention, and, as it were, tranſport the mind. From this inſtance we may perceive their power; for if any one ſhould leave the words and ſentiments of celebrated poems, but diſſolve their numbers, they would appear jejune, and inferior to the notion we now have of them. But tho' poetry has this advantage, we are not to be indolent, but try the force of eloquence; and experience, whether this cannot celebrate good men, equally with thoſe who have compoſed odes and poems in their honour.

FIRST, then, tho' many already know the birth of Evagoras, and from whom he deſcended, yet, I think, I ought, for the ſake of others, to ſpeak upon this head, that all may underſtand, tho' he had left him the nobleſt and moſt excellent examples, yet he no ways fell ſhort of them. It is acknowledged by all, that thoſe, who are deſcended from Jupiter, are the nobleſt of the demi-gods. Now, amongſt thoſe, there is no one but will give the preference to the Æacidæ. In other families, we ſhall find ſome to have excelled, and others to have fallen ſhort of the ſame glory; but all theſe were the moſt famous of all in their own times: for Æacus, who was the ſon of Jupiter, and author of Teucer's family, ſo far excelled, that, when a drought had happened in Greece, and many periſhed, when the calamity was now come to its height, the chief of the cities came to him in a ſuppliant manner, thinking, by his high birth and piety, they might the ſooneſt be freed from their preſſing calamities. Thus being ſaved, and obtaining all they wiſhed, they built, in Ægina, a temple common to all Greece, on the ſpot where he had made his prayer; and, during all that time which he was amongſt men, he lived with the greateſt glory: but, when he departed this life, he is ſaid to have

received the greateſt honours from Pluto and Proſerpine, and to have been ſeated at their ſide. His ſons were Telamon and Peleus; the one of which, making an expedition with Hercules againſt Laomedon, deſerved the higheſt encomium of valour; and Peleus, diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the war with the Centaurs, and gaining praiſe in many other dangers, tho' mortal, married Thetis the daughter of Nereus, who was immortal: and it is ſaid, that, at his nuptials, of all human race, the hymenæan was ſung by deities. From thoſe two, viz. from Telamon, came Ajax and Teucer; and from Peleus, ſprung Achilles; each of whom gave the greateſt and moſt evident proofs of valour: for they were not only the chief in their cities, and the places they dwelt in, but there happening an expedition of the Greeks againſt the Barbarians, and a great number being collected on both ſides, nor any of diſtinction being left behind, in this conflict, Achilles diſtinguiſhed himſelf from all others, and Ajax merited the next degree of glory; but Teucer, worthy of their relation, and inferior to no others, after he had with them ſacked Troy, ſailing to Cyprus, built Salamis, calling it thus after his own country, and left behind him that family which now reigns. What glory, therefore, was tranſmitted down to Evagoras by his anceſtors, is of this exalted nature: this city being in this manner built, at firſt the deſcendents from Teucer obtained the kingdom; but, in proceſs of time, a baniſhed perſon came from Phœnicia, who was received by him who then reigned, with amity, and thus obtaining great power, did not requite his friend with gratitude; but, becoming villainous to his benefactor, and ambitious of higher things, expelled him, and ſeized his kingdom. But being alarmed by fear for what he had done, and having a mind to ſecure himſelf, he both filled the city with Barbarians, and ſubjected the whole iſland to the great king of Perſia.

EVAGORAS was born, when things were in ſuch circumſtances. I ſhall omit here the oracles, the prophecies, and viſions, which happened in ſleep, by which he might appear a perſon

a perſon exalted above human nature; not that I diſbelieve theſe things, but that I may make it evident, that I am ſo far from feigning any actions of his, that I ſhall paſs by ſuch as are true, but few know of, nor all are agreed about; for whilſt he was a youth, he was endued with beauty, ſtrength, and modeſty; qualities particularly adapted to that age. And of what I ſay, I can produce theſe witneſſes, viz. of his modeſty, all the citizens who were educated with him; of his beauty, all who ſaw him; and of his ſtrength, all thoſe games and conteſts in which he vanquiſhed his equals. When he was a man, all theſe advantages encreaſed, and to them were added fortitude, wiſdom, and juſtice, not in a middling degree, nor as we ſee them in ſome others, but each of them in excellency: for he ſo far excelled in the virtues of mind and body, that when they, who then reigned, ſaw him, they were ſtruck, and feared for their own kingdom; thinking it was impoſſible, that ſuch a one would be content to paſs his life in a private ſtation. But when they conſidered his manner, they put ſuch confidence in him, that they thought, ſhould any one elſe dare to injure them, they ſhould have Evagoras for their aſſiſtant; and tho' their opinions were ſo different, yet they were deceived in neither reſpect; for he neither remained a private perſon, nor treſpaſſed againſt them: but the gods had ſuch care of him, and that he might virtuouſly poſſeſs the kingdom, that what neceſſarily was prepared by impiety, another perpetrated; but Evagoras himſelf performed what was neceſſary for his juſt and guiltleſs aſcent of the throne: for one of the nobles cauſing a conſpiracy, both ſlew the tyrant, and had a mind to ſeize Evagoras; thinking he could not obtain the kingdom, unleſs he deſtroyed him. Evagoras eſcaping this danger, and being ſafe arrived in Soli, a city of Cilicia, entertained not the ſame thoughts as ſuch do, who fall into the like calamities; for others, tho' they have loſt a kingdom, are apt to have, on account of their calamities, abject minds; but he roſe to that pitch of magnanimity, after he was driven into baniſhment,

niſhment, that, tho' before he lived a private perſon, he now thought it was but juſt he ſhould aſſume the royalty. But he ſcorned to accept of renegadoes or fugitives, and return by ſuch, or make his addreſſes to thoſe beneath him; And taking the opportunity, which it becomes thoſe who would act with piety, of revenging, and not being the aggreſſor; in ſhort, reſolving either to ſucceed in attaining a crown, or, failing, to die with bravery; having got together about fifty perſons, as moſt atteſt, and being ſupported by theſe, he attempted his return. From whence we may clearly perceive his abilities, and what great thought others had of him; for, on the point of ſailing with ſo few to execute ſo great a deſign, and tho' all cruelties were preſented to their view, he neither deſponded, nor would a man of them withdraw from the danger; but, as if they had followed a god, all ſtood to their promiſes; and he, as if he had a ſuperior army, or foreſaw what would happen, proceeded with ſecrecy. This is evident from his actions; for, in making a deſcent upon the iſland, he did not judge, that, after ſeizing ſome ſtrong place, and putting his body in ſafety, he ought to wait the aſſiſtance of ſome of the citizens; but immediately, as he was prepared, the ſame night, having broke open a ſmall gate in the wall, and introducing his companions by it, he made an aſſault againſt the palace. And why need I here dwell upon deſcribing the tumult which happens on ſuch an occaſion, the terror of ſome, and his generous exhortations? While ſome of the tyrant's guards reſiſted, and the reſt of the citizens were ſpectators (for, fearing the government of the one, and the valour of the other, they remained quiet), he did not ceaſe fighting, both alone againſt many, and, with his companions, againſt all the enemies, till, taking the palace, he revenged himſelf on his adverſaries, brought ſuccour to his friends, reſtored his family to its former honours, and made himſelf the lord of the city.

I NOW think, that, ſhould I add no more, but break off in this place my diſcourſe, it would be eaſy to eſtimate

both

both the valour of Evagoras, and the greatness of his actions. But I judge, that I shall more fully manifest both by what follows; for tho' there have been so many monarchs in all times, yet none will be found who obtained this honour more gloriously than he. But should we compare Evagoras's actions with each of theirs, perhaps neither the discourse would please the hearers, nor the time suffice for what might be said; yet, if we select the most glorious, and compare Evagoras's actions with theirs, we shall lose nothing by this method, and we shall express ourselves more briefly by this means. Is there, think you, any of those, who have succeeded to their paternal kingdoms, whose fortune we would not postpone to the dangers of Evagoras? There is no one so mean-spirited, who would chuse to receive such a government, rather than, after he had gained it blamelessly, as Evagoras, to leave it to his children. Now, amongst the antients, the returns of those persons to their paternal kingdoms are most celebrated, which we read of in the poets; for they do not commemorate only the most glorious, but they invent other heroes of their own. But most of them have mentioned, in their fables, any one, who, after he had passed such horrid and dreadful dangers, recovered his own right. Most of them have celebrated those who received their kingdoms from fortune; others, those who got the better of their adversaries by art and stratagem: but of those who succeeded, or perhaps of all, most particularly admire Cyrus, who took the empire from the Medes, and transferred it to the Persians; yet he, with a Persian army, overthrew the Medes, which many, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, would have easily done. But it is certain, Evagoras effected most of these things, which have been mentioned before, by his bodily strength and courage. Now, it is not evident from the expedition of Cyrus, that he would ever have sustained the dangers of Evagoras; but it is clear from the latter's actions to all, that he would easily have attempted the exploits of the other. Besides, all was done justly and religiously by the one; but

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ſome things were a blemiſh to the other's piety. The one ſlew his enemies; but the other killed his wife's father: ſo that if any one will conſider, not the greatneſs of the events, but the bravery of each, they muſt neceſſarily praiſe Evagoras before Cyrus. And if I ought to conceal nothing, nor be deterred by envy from ſpeaking my mind freely, I will dare to ſay, that no mortal, demi-god, or immortal, can be found ever to have gained a kingdom more nobly, or with more glory and piety. Every one may be moſt convinced of this, if, not too incredulous of what I have ſaid, he reſolve to enquire how each acquired his kingdom; for I ſhall not appear deſirous of always ſpeaking in the moſt pompous manner, but of ſpeaking with boldneſs, according to the verity of the facts. Had he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſmall actions, he would have deſerved an encomium; but all confeſs, that royalty is the greateſt, the moſt auguſt, and deſerving of contention, of all mortal goods. Now, what rhetorician, what poet, what orator, can ſufficiently praiſe him for his actions, who has acquired the moſt glorious of all poſſeſſions?

Nor, tho' he excelled in theſe reſpects, will he be found inferior in others; for, in the firſt place, tho' he was born with the happieſt genius, and could do many things in the moſt perfect manner, yet he judged, he ought not to ſet ſlight by any thing, nor tranſact ought raſhly and inconſiderately; but he ſpent much of his time in enquiry and deliberation; judging, that, if he exerciſed prudently his own mind, his kingdom would be rendered glorious, and wondered at thoſe, who do all for the ſake of life, but nothing for a wiſer and better œconomy of it. In public affairs, he judged in the ſame manner; for ſeeing thoſe, who took the greateſt care of their affairs, to be leaſt expoſed to trouble, and that eaſe of mind conſiſted not in activity, but in doing good, and bearing labour, he omitted nothing, but ſo well underſtood public affairs, and all perſons, that they neither could prejudice him by fraud, nor thoſe who were good, be concealed from him; but all had their juſt reward.

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He neither punished or honoured his citizens, by what he heard from others; but what he knew, he made the rule of his sentiments. Tho' he was employed in such variety of care, yet he committed no one instance of error in whatever occurred daily; but he governed the city so religiously and humanely, that those strangers, who came there, did not felicitate Evagoras more for his happy reign, than they did his subjects for his mild government. He passed his whole life without injuring any man, and in constantly honouring the good. If he governed with a strict hand, yet he punished delinquents according to the laws; and tho' he least of all men wanted counsellors, yet he always took the advice of his friends. Tho' he would yield to his friends, yet he would conquer his enemies in all things. He was august and venerable, not by the haughtiness of his brow, but by the dignity of his life. He behaved himself in nothing in an indecent or unbecoming manner; but preserved his veracity as much in common conversation as others do in regard of oaths. He was full of noble spirit, not for the goods of fortune, but those that were his own. He made his friends his own by his beneficence, and others he subjected by the greatness of his courage. He was not terrible by his violence to others, but by excelling in the superiority of genius. He was a master of his pleasures, and not hurried here and there by them. He procured himself leisure by a few labours, and did not, for a little amusement, cause himself great trouble. In a word, he omitted nothing of whatever becomes kings, but chose whatever was best in every republic. He was popular in the affection of the multitude, political in the government of the city, a general in taking just measures in danger, and royal by excelling in all things.

It is just to imagine, that all these, and more than these noble qualities were inherent in Evagoras; for tho' he received a city disgraced by barbarity, and which, upon account of the Phœnicians, would not admit the Greeks, learn arts, or use any free trade, or allow open ports, he cor-

rected all these things; he added a spacious country, inclosed the city with a wall, built gallies, and with all other preparations so fortified the city, that it was inferior to none of all those which belonged to the Greeks. He acquired such power, that many feared who had despised him. It is impossible, that any cities should have such additions, unless some person govern by such a noble conduct as Evagoras did, and such as I have endeavoured to enumerate before. Wherefore I do not fear, lest I should seem to those who knew his virtues, to speak beyond his merit, but lest I should be inferior in eloquence to his actions. What man, with all the power of language, can reach the qualities of him, who not only made his city of more value, but brought the neighbouring regions, nay, the whole island, to civility and moderation? for, before Evagoras possessed the kingdom, they behaved themselves in such a detestable and savage manner, that they thought those were the best of their chiefs, who acted the most cruelly against the Grecians. Now, they are so changed, that they contend among themselves who shall appear the most benevolent to the Grecians; most of them beget children on women of our country, take a greater pleasure in our furniture and institutions than in their own; and one may find among them more persons who excel in noble music, and in other kinds of science, than amongst those where they formerly flourished. None can deny Evagoras to be the author of all these things. Now, this is the greatest sign both of his manners and sanctity. Many reputable good Grecians passed over into Cyprus, leaving their own country, and judging the government of Evagoras more humane and equitable than their own republics. To mention by name others, might make my discourse tedious: but in regard of Conon, who, on account of his many virtues, was the chief of the Grecians, is any one ignorant, that, when the city of Athens had met with bad success, he, selecting out of all, came to Evagoras? judging there would neither be any where else a surer refuge for his body, or a quicker assistance for the city: and

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tho' he had done well in former things, yet he seemed never to have taken better measures than now; for it happened to him, by coming into Cyprus, to be the cause of many goods, and to receive many. In the first place, they no sooner met, but they esteemed one another more than those who before had been familiar to them; and agreeing constantly in other things, they likewise had the same sentiments in regard of our city; for seeing it subjected by the Lacedæmonians, and afflicted by a great change of affairs, they bore it heavily, and each did his respective duty; for the one was a countryman, and the Athenians had made the other a citizen, upon account of his many and singular merits. While they were thinking of the means of freeing Athens from its calamities, the Lacedæmonians afforded them an opportunity; for governing the Grecians both by sea and land, they arrived at that pitch of insatiable avarice, that they attempted even to injure Asia. Conon and Evagoras seized on this juncture, and informed the king's generals, who were doubtful, how they should manage affairs; advising them not to make war by land, but by sea, against the Lacedæmonians; judging, that, should they raise a foot-army, and conquer by that means, things would only be better on the continent by it; but, if they conquered by sea, all Greece would partake of the victory; which happened: for the generals obeying this counsel, and collecting a fleet, the Lacedæmonians were conquered in a naval battle, and stripped of their power; the Greeks were restored to liberty, our city recovered part of its splendor, and was constituted head of the allies. This was done by Conon as leader, but Evagoras as assistant, who furnished out the greatest part of the troops; for which we honoured both with the greatest honours, and placed their statues where that of Jupiter the Preserver is, next to him and each other, as a monument of both these things, viz. of the greatness of the benefit, and of their own mutual friendship. But the Persian monarch had not the same sentiments of them, but feared them in proportion as they did greater and more noble actions.

I SHALL ſpeak of Conon in another place. But it is evident, that the Perſian had this diſpoſition towards Evagoras, ſince he did not diſſemble it; for it is certain, he was more anxious about his Cyprian war than any other, and judged him a greater and more dangerous enemy than Cyrus, who contended with him for the kingdom. This is a ſure proof; for when he had heard of his brother's preparations, he ſo deſpiſed him, that, not being cautious enough, his rival had like to have entered the palace without his knowledge: but he was ſo timid in reſpect of Evagoras, that, while he received benefits from him, he was privately levying a war; not doing juſtly indeed, but yet, not without an appearance of reaſon, conſulting his ſafety; for he knew, that many, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, had erected great empires from low and mean beginnings; and he underſtood, that Evagoras's magnanimity, the increaſe of his ſtate, and the glory of his actions, made ſwift progreſs, that he had an invincible genius, and that fortune favoured his virtues. He was not angry for what had been done, but ſollicitous for the future; and not fearing ſo much for Cyprus, but far greater concerns, he undertook war againſt him; and he applied himſelf to it with ſuch vigour, that he expended in this expedition above fifty thouſand talents. But Evagoras, inferior in all preparations, oppoſing his courage to ſuch immenſe forces, ſhewed himſelf more wonderful on this occaſion, than in regard of all that has been mentioned before; for while they ſuffered him to live in peace, he only held his own city; but, after he was forced to make war, he behaved himſelf ſo, and had ſuch an aſſiſtant in his ſon Protagoras, that he was very near ſeizing all Cyprus. He laid waſte Phœnicia, took Tyre by force, and made Cilicia revolt from the king; and he deſtroyed ſuch numbers of the enemies, that many of the Perſians, deploring their misfortunes, remember his valour: at length, he ſo glutted them with war, that, tho' formerly the Perſians were not accuſtomed to be reconciled to thoſe who had revolted, before they were maſters of their bodies, they now willingly

willingly made peace, diſſolving that law, and making no change in Evagoras's kingdom. And tho' the Perſian king, in three years, deſtroyed the power of the Lacedæmonians, who were poſſeſſed at that time of the greateſt ſtrength and glory, yet, having war with Evagoras for ten years, he left him lord of the ſame poſſeſſions of which he was before the war began. But this is moſt to be admired: that very city, which, when another reigned in, Evagoras took with fifty men, the Perſian king could not conquer with his mighty forces. Now, how can any one more nobly ſhew the fortitude, prudence, and all the virtues of Evagoras, than by the hiſtory of his actions and dangers? for it is certain, that he not only ſurpaſſed the exploits of other wars, but thoſe carried on by heroes, and celebrated in hymns and poems by all men; for they, with united Greece, only took Troy, but he, tho' he had but one city, made war againſt all Aſia: wherefore, had as many praiſed him as have praiſed them, he had acquired greater glory than they. Who, amongſt them, if we omit fables, and examine the truth, did ſo great things as he? or, who was the author of ſuch great changes in affairs? Of a private perſon he made himſelf a king, and reſtored all his family, who had been excluded from public authority, to their former dignity. He made his citizens, of barbarians that they were, humane, of effeminate, warlike, and of obſcure, famous; and tho' he had found a place averſe to commerce, and enſavaged, yet he rendered it more humane and civilized: beſides, having a quarrel with the king, he ſo nobly revenged himſelf, that the war he carried on in Cyprus, ought ever to be remembered: but, whilſt he was his ally, he was ſo much more beneficial to him than the reſt, that, by the confeſſion of all, he aſſiſted him with the greateſt naval forces in the battle at Cnidos; which being over, the king was conſtituted lord of all Aſia; and the Lacedæmonians, tho' before they waſted the continent, were forced to fight for their own city; the Greeks, inſtead of ſlavery, recovered their liberty; and the Athenians had ſuch acceſſion of power, that

they, who governed them before, now came to offer them the ſovereignty. Wherefore, ſhould any one aſk me, which I think the nobleſt amongſt the actions of Evagoras; whether his endeavours and preparations againſt the Lacedæmonians, on account of which what was mentioned before came to paſs, or his poſſeſſing himſelf of the kingdom in laſt war, or the whole adminiſtration of his affairs? I ſhould be in a great heſitation; for whichſoever I once turn my mind to, that ſeems to me the greateſt and moſt wonderful. Wherefore, if ſome of the antients have been made immortal by virtue, I judge him to have been thought worthy of the reward; and by this proof, that he led a life more happy and acceptable to the gods than they, to his death: for we ſhall find moſt, and the moſt famous of the demigods, to have fallen into the greateſt calamities; but Evagoras was not only deſerving admiration from the beginning, but continued ſo, and happy to the end. What part of happineſs was wanting to him? who had ſuch parents as no other, unleſs thoſe who were deſcended from the ſame: and he ſo far excelled others in body and ſtrength, that he was worthy not only of governing Salamis, but of all Aſia; and, when he had moſt glorioufly acquired a kingdom, died in the poſſeſſion of it: in fine, tho' mortal by nature, he left behind him an immortal memory; lived ſuch a time, that he was neither excluded from old age, nor ſubject to thoſe diſeaſes which ariſe from it; beſides, what is looked upon a rare caſe, he was not deprived of a numerous and virtuous offspring, but was happy in this too; and, what is greateſt of all, left none of his deſcendents ſtiled by vulgar names, but one called king, others princes, and others princeſſes: wherefore, if any of the poets, uſing an hyperbolical way of expreſſion, have ſaid ſuch a one was a god amongſt men, or a deity, it is certainly juſt that the ſame ſhould be ſaid of his exalted nature.

But I judge many things have eſcaped me, which I ſhould have ſaid of Evagoras; for I want the vigour of age, whereby

whereby I might have finiſhed, in a more accurate and elegant manner, this oration. But even now he paſſes not unpraiſed, to the beſt of my abilities. I, O Nicocles! think the images of the body beautiful monuments, but the images of actions, and the mind, far more worthy, which are only to be ſeen in eloquent orations. I prefer theſe firſt, becauſe I know noble and good men are not ſo elated with the beauty of body, as with the glory which attends their actions; beſides, that ſtatues can only be amongſt thoſe where they are placed, but orations may ſpread through Greece, and, thus diſtributed, be eſteemed in the company of wiſe men; amongſt whom honour is more valuable than among all others; becauſe, by ſtatuary or painting, none can ever expreſs the nature of the body, but it is an eaſy matter for others to imitate their manners and natures, who are repreſented by writing, if they chuſe not to be ſlothful, but good men: for whoſe ſake I have more willingly undertaken this oration; judging, that this will be the moſt honourable exhortation to you, your children, and all who deſcend from Evagoras, if any one, collecting his virtues, and adorning them by eloquence, expoſe them to your view, and put it in your power to be always converſant with them: for we exhort others to virtue, by propoſing to them the examples of others, that, emulating thoſe who are praiſed, they may emulate the ſame inſtitutes with them; but I exhort you and yours, not uſing foreign but domeſtic examples, and adviſe you to be attentive, that you neither fall ſhort, in words or actions, of any of the Grecians: nor think I am accuſing you, as if I thought you little ſollicitous about this, becauſe I often exhort you to the ſame; for neither I, or others, are ignorant, that you are the firſt of thoſe who live in regal power, amidſt riches and pleaſures, who has attempted to join labour and philoſophy; and that you will cauſe many kings, by emulation of your learning, to love ſuch ſtudies, and omit thoſe things which they now take great pleaſure in. But tho' I know this, yet I both do, and will do, as ſpectators at gymnaſtic games; for they do

not encourage the mean-ſpirited, but thoſe who contend for victory. It therefore becomes me, and other friends, to ſay and write ſuch things, by which we may excite you ſtill to deſire what you now love: and it becomes you to omit nothing, but take care at preſent, and in time to come, that, by exerciſing your mind, you may become worthy of your father and anceſtors; for it becomes all highly to value wiſdom, but eſpecially you who preſide over ſo many. You ought not to be content, if you are better than thoſe who now live, but grieve, if, being ſuch by nature, originally deſcended from Jupiter, and lately from a man of ſuch diſtinguiſhed virtues, you do not only far excel others, but thoſe who are placed with you in the ſame dignity. It is in your power not to fall ſhort of this; for if you perſevere in the ſtudy of virtue, and make ſuch progreſs as hitherto, you will ſoon become ſuch as you ought to be.

THE

THE TENTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES:
OR, THE
PRAISE of HELEN.

The SUBJECT.

THIS is, perhaps, the nobleſt panegyric that ever was compoſed of Helen, excepting Homer's, which ſhines with the pomp, fiction, and beauty of all poetry. It has many digreſſions; but this is natural on ſuch an occaſion, when the ſubject is too confined. That part, relating to beauty, has been emulated by Lucian, but not ſucceſsfully, in the opinion of the learned. This diſcourſe ſhould be looked upon as a conteſt of ſophiſts in their own way.

THE TENTH ORATION of ISOCRATES: OR, THE PRAISE of HELEN.

SOME there are who glory, if they can but ſpeak tolerably on an abſurd ſubject; and ſome have grown old in aſſerting, that no one can ſpeak a falſity, or affirm contradictions, or make two oppoſite orations upon the ſame topics; others arguing, that fortitude, wiſdom, and juſtice, are the ſame; that we have none of them by nature, but that inſtruction is the cauſe of them all. Others paſs their time in chicanery about trifles, which conduces to no good, but may puzzle thoſe who will trouble themſelves in ſuch a manner. Did I perceive ſuch nonſenſe had its riſe lately in rhetoric, and that ſuch men could glory in the novelty of invention, I ſhould not ſo much wonder at them. Now, who is there amongſt us ſo belated in ſtudy, who is ignorant, that Protagoras, and the ſophiſts of thoſe times, left us ſuch, and more laborious writings? for who can ſurpaſs Gorgias, who dares to ſay, nothing that exiſts is real? or Zeno, who endeavours to prove the ſame things poſſible and impoſſible? or Meliſſus, who, though created things are infinite, endeavoured to find out reaſons, whereby to demonſtrate that the whole univerſe was an unity? But altho' they have demonſtrated ſo evidently, that it is eaſy for any one to invent a falſe diſcourſe about what is propoſed,

propoſed, yet they continue in the ſame circle; whom it did become, omitting the fallacies of words, whereby they have promiſed to evince any thing, but which have been found idle a long time, to purſue truth, and inſtruct their cotemporaries in thoſe things whereby the commonwealth ſubſiſts; reflecting, that it is far better, that any one ſhould have a moderate judgment about uſeful things, than know uſeleſs ones accurately, and be a little ſuperior in great affairs, than to excel greatly in ſmall things, and ſuch as are no ways beneficial to life: but they have nothing in view, but to take money from young men. Now, a contention about trifles can effect this; for thoſe who neither heed private or public affairs, are chiefly delighted with theſe orations which are ſubſervient to no good. Now, young men ought to be pardoned for thinking ſo; for they are, in all reſpects, attentive to thoſe things, which are ſuperfluous and wonderful. But it is juſt to reprehend thoſe who profeſs to teach others, becauſe they blame ſuch who deceive in contracts, or uſe language wrongfully; but do far worſe themſelves than the others; for the others indeed may hurt ſtrangers, but they prejudice chiefly their friends: ſo that they have ſo encreaſed the licence of lying, that ſome ſeeing perſons enriched by ſuch means, have dared to aſſert in writing, that the lives of mendicants and exiles are more to be deſired than that of other men; and they would have this paſs for a proof or ſpecimen, that they, if they can but ſpeak any thing of ſuch ſcandalous things, ſhall eaſily be redundantly copious upon good and noble topics. Now, it ſeems to me the moſt ridiculous thing imaginable, to endeavour, by ſuch means, to prove themſelves ſkilled in political affairs; while it is permitted them to give a proof in what they profeſs: for it becomes thoſe, who contend about wiſdom, and call themſelves profeſſors of it, to excel and exceed, in virtue, private perſons, not in thoſe things which are neglected by other Grecians, but in ſuch as are emulated by all. Now, they act in ſuch a manner, as if a perſon ſhould profeſs himſelf a moſt excellent combatant, while he

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trode a ſtage, where none would vouchſafe to enter. Who that is wiſe would praiſe calamities? It is evident, they have recourſe to ſuch topics out of weakneſs; for there is one method of all ſuch writings, which it is neither difficult to find, learn, or imitate: for common orations, ſuch as are worthy of credit, and the like, are both invented and expreſſed by many forms and figures, which are difficult to be underſtood; and are ſo much more difficult in the compoſition, as it is more arduous to be a grave perſon than a buffoon, and act a ſerious than a ludicrous part. This is a clear proof of this truth; for none of thoſe, who either chuſed to praiſe bees, ſalt, and the like, ever wanted, but abounded in words; but all have ſaid, that thoſe who have endeavoured to ſpeak of what was confeſſedly good and laudable, or of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by virtue, have fallen far ſhort of what might have been ſpoken; for it is not the part of the ſame genius to ſpeak worthily of both kinds of theſe topics; but it is an eaſy matter to exceed, by language, ſmall ſubjects; on the contrary, to equal the ſublimity of the other, is very difficult: ſo it is an arduous taſk to invent, upon celebrated topics, what no one has ſaid before; but whatever any one happens to ſpeak of low and abject ſubjects, is his own. Wherefore I praiſe him particularly, who has written the encomium of Helen, of all thoſe who would write elegantly; becauſe he made that woman his ſubject, who excelled in her origin, her beauty, and glory. But ſomething eſcaped his judgment: he ſays, he deſigns her panegyric; but his diſcourſe is an apology for what ſhe did. Now, ſuch an oration is not of one and the ſame form or kind, but the quite contrary; for an apology ought to be made for thoſe who are guilty of injuſtice: and that I may not do what is the eaſieſt, reprehend others, but produce nothing myſelf, I will endeavour to ſpeak concerning her; omitting all that has ever been ſaid of her by others.

I WILL make her firſt origin the beginning of my diſcourſe; for tho' many demi-gods were begotten by Jupiter,

he

he vouchafed alone to be called the father of this woman; and tho' he was ſollicitous about the ſon of Alcmena, he ſo far honoured Helen above Hercules, that he gave him ſtrength indeed, whereby he might conquer by force all others, but to her he gave beauty, which vanquiſhes ſtrength itſelf, and has a natural empire over it. And knowing, that ſplendor and glory ariſe not from inactivity, but from war and conflicts; and not deſigning only to exalt their bodies among the gods, but appropriate immortal honours to them, he made the life of the one obnoxious to labour and dangers, but the nature and perfection of the other ſuch as was to be admired and contended for by war.

And, firſt, Theſeus, ſaid to be the ſon of Ægeus, but, in reality, of Neptune, having ſeen her, tho' not in the full bloom of age, but far excelling others, he, who was accuſtomed to conquer others, was ſo vanquiſhed by her beauty, that, tho' he had an extenſive country, and a ſafe kingdom, he thought the poſſeſſion of all his preſent goods nothing without enjoyment of her: but when he could not have her from thoſe under whoſe authority ſhe was (for they waited for her age, and the Pythian oracle), deſpiſing the kingdom of Tyndarus, nay, deſpiſing the ſtrength of Caſtor and Pollux, neglecting all the dangers he might incur at Sparta, and ſeizing her by force, he carried her off to Aphidna, a town in Attica. And he was ſo grateful to his friend Pirithous, who aſſiſted him in the enterprize of this raviſhment, that when his friend would needs poſſeſs Jupiter and Ceres's daughter, and exhorted him to make, in concert, a deſcent into hell, when he could not by his advice diſſuade him, tho' certain calamity was in view, yet he would accompany him; judging he ought to make him this return, and diſobey none of Pirithous's commands, for the dangers he had run for his ſake. If he, who did all this, had been one of the vulgar, and not of the moſt excellent amongſt mankind, it could not as yet be clear, whether this was a praiſe of Helen, or an accuſation of Theſeus. Now, amongſt other illuſtrious men, we ſhall find ſome to have wanted

fortitude,

fortitude, ſome, wiſdom, ſome, other parts of virtue; but we ſhall perceive him to have wanted none of theſe, but to have been poſſeſſed of compleat virtue: I think I ought to ſpeak more at large of him; for I judge this to be the ſtrongeſt argument that any who praiſe Helen can uſe, if it is proved, that all they who admired her, deſerved more admiration themſelves than others. As for what happens in our times, we have a right to judge of ſuch things according to our beſt opinions; but, in regard of antient things, we muſt take care that our ſentiments are conſonant to the ſentiments of thoſe who thought juſtly in thoſe times. What I have to mention as to Theſeus's honour, particularly, is, that he made his glory emulous of Hercules, who was born in the ſame time; for they were not only decorated with the ſame arms, but they followed the ſame inſtitutes, acting as it was worthy of thoſe of the ſame family; for being begotten, the one by Jupiter, the other by Neptune, they had ſimilar affections; for they alone, of all who had lived before, became combatants for the lives and good of mankind. It happened, that the one did the more famous and greater exploits; but the other, ſuch as were more beneficial and related to the Grecians: for Euryſtheus ordered the one, that he ſhould drive from Erythea certain oxen, carry off the Heſperian apples, drag up Cerberus from hell, and undertake other labours of this kind, by which he could not benefit others, but run hazards himſelf. But no ſooner was the other maſter of his own conduct, than he choſe ſuch conflicts, whereby he might be judged the benefactor of all Greece, or his own country; and, after he had conquered alone that bull which had been ſent in by Neptune, deſtroyed the country, and was dreaded by all, he freed all thoſe who inhabited the city from great fear and tumult. After this, being an ally with the Lapithæ, and undertaking an expedition againſt the Centaurs, conquering thoſe double-bodied monſters, who excelled in ſwiftneſs, in ſtrength, and boldneſs, deſtroyed ſome cities, were ready to waſte others, and threatned others, he ſoon quelled their

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inſolence, and ſhortly after extinguiſhed their whole race. About the ſame time, when that monſter had appeared, which was born in Crete of Paſiphaë, the daughter of the ſon, to whom the city was ordered by the oracle to ſend fourteen youths as a tribute, ſeeing them dragged away, and accompanied by the people, to an unjuſt and premature death, he conceived that indignation, that he judged it better to die than live baſely, governing a city, which was forced to pay ſuch a miſerable tribute to enemies. Sailing therefore with the others, and vanquiſhing that monſter, compoſed of a man and bull, with ſtrength adequate to ſuch a nature, he reſtored the children ſafe to their parents, and freed the city from ſuch an unjuſt, cruel, and inevitable burden.

I AM dubious how I ſhall employ my other arguments; for, ſince I am come to the actions of Theſeus, and beginning to ſpeak of them, I am not willing to break off in the middle, and omit the barbarity of Sciron, Cercyon, and the like; engaging with whom, he freed Greece from many and great calamities. I perceive, I am hurried too far, and am afraid, leſt I ſhould have more concern for him than my firſt ſubject: I chuſe, therefore, rather to omit many things, for the ſake of thoſe who are delicate auditors, and ſpeak of what remains as briefly as poſſible, that I may partly comply with their humour, and partly with my own; for I am determined not to be entirely worſted by thoſe who envy others, and find fault with all that is ſaid by them. He therefore ſhewed his fortitude in thoſe actions, when he fought alone; but he ſhewed his knowledge in military affairs, in thoſe battles, when he was aſſiſted by the whole city; and his piety towards the gods, both in the ſupplications of Adraſtus and the children of Hercules; for he ſaved the latter, by conquering the Peloponneſians, and he gave thoſe who had fallen under the Cadmean caſtle, in ſpite of the Thebans, to be buried. He proved his other virtues and moderation, both by the fore-mentioned inſtances, and particularly by his adminiſtration of the city; for,

for obſerving, that they, who endeavoured to govern the city by violence, were ſlaves to others, and thoſe very perſons, who would make the lives of others full of danger, were ſo ſtruck with fears themſelves, that they were forced to enter into war, jointly indeed with the city, againſt invading enemies, but with others againſt fellow-citizens; that they ſpoiled the temples of the gods, ſlew the beſt of citizens, were diffident of their neareſt relations, nor were happier than thoſe who are impriſoned for capital crimes; yet that they appeared externally happy, while they grieved internally more than others (for what can be more intolerable than to live continually in fear, leſt ſome ſtander-by ſhould take away one's life, and no leſs dread their guards than aſſaſſins?) Deſpiſing ſuch wretchedneſs, and thinking ſuch not princes, but plagues of the city, he ſhewed it was eaſy both to govern, and be in no worſe condition than thoſe who live as private perſons. And, firſt, he collected together the citizens, who dwelt in ſeparate and ſcattered villages, into one place, and made the city ſo great, that it remains to this day the largeſt of all Greece. Afterwards, when he eſtabliſhed his country upon the principle of equality, had freed the minds of his citizens from fears, he let the pretenſion to magiſtracy be common to all; being as full of noble courage, ſhould they do their beſt efforts, as if they were ſunk in indolence: for he thought thoſe honours more pleaſing, which are conferred by brave men, than thoſe which are by ſlaves; and he was ſo far from doing any thing contrary to the will of the citizens, that he made the people lords of the government; but they would have him only to govern, judging his monarchy more upright and equitable than their own democracy. He did not, as ſome do, transfer the labour to others, while he himſelf alone enjoyed pleaſures; but he aſſumed dangers to himſelf, and made all utility common: therefore he paſt his life beloved, nor ever was expoſed to treachery. Nor did he preſerve his power by foreign troops; but was ſurrounded, as it were, by a guard, with the benevolence of his own citizens. He reigned by

power, but he was popular by beneficence; for he governed the city with ſuch juſtneſs and glory, that there are ſtill traces of his lenity in our manners.

How ſhould we then do otherwiſe, than praiſe her who was begotten by Jupiter, and endowed with ſuch virtue and modeſty, and think ſhe muſt have excelled all women who ever were? for we cannot bring a more unanſwerable teſtimony of the excellencies of Helen, than the judgment of Theſeus. But that I may not ſeem to dwell upon the ſame topic, on account of the barrenneſs of my ſubject, nor miſuſe one man's praiſe to make her encomium, I ſhall purſue my diſcourſe. For, after the deſcent of Theſeus to hell, when ſhe was returned to Lacedæmon, and arrived at a proper age for marriage, all who then reigned, and obtained the principality in their cities, had the ſame opinion of her; for tho' they could have married the chief women in their reſpective cities, deſpiſing domeſtic alliances, all ſought after her in marriage. Even while he was not yet choſen, who was to live with her (but fortune was ſtill common), it was ſo evident to all, that ſhe would be contended for by war, that, in an aſſembly, they gave their ſolemn promiſe to each other, they would aſſiſt him, if any one ſhould dare to take her by violence from him, who was judged worthy of poſſeſſing her; and each concluded he was procuring this ſecurity for himſelf: but all, except one man, were diſappointed of their private hope; yet none of them were deceived in that opinion which they had of her: for no great time being elapſed, and a diſpute happening among the goddeſſes concerning their beauty, Alexander the ſon of Priam was conſtituted arbiter; and tho' Juno offered him the empire of all Aſia, Minerva victories in war, but Venus the poſſeſſion of Helen, not being capable of judging of ſuch goddeſſes bodies, but dazzled with their rays, and forced to be rather a judge of the rewards, he preferred the enjoyment of Helen before all; not that he principally regarded pleaſure (tho' it is preferred, and by wiſe men, before many things), but he aimed not ſo much at that, but to become and be called

called the ſon-in-law of Jupiter; thinking this honour far greater, and more glorious, than the kingdom of Aſia; that great empires and power may be the portion of worthleſs men, but that none of all poſterity would ever be judged worthy of ſuch a woman. Beſides, he conſidered this, that he could not leave a more noble poſſeſſion to his children, than if he procured them this, that they ſhould be, upon account of father and mother, deſcended from Jupiter. He knew, that the other goods of fortune ſoon paſs over to others; but that nobility is the inheritance of the ſame. Wherefore he foreſaw, that this choice would benefit all his poſterity; but that the other gifts would only concern the age in which he lived. No wiſe man, I ſuppoſe now, will reprehend his ſentiment, though ſome of thoſe who conſider nothing which precedes, but the event alone, have reviled him; whoſe folly is eaſy to be learned by thoſe reproaches which they have caſt out againſt him. Muſt they not be thought to act abſurdly, if they imagine their judgment is better than his, which was preferred by all the goddeſſes? for they did not make, upon their great diſpute, any fortuitous perſon judge; but it is evident, that they were as ſollicitous about a proper judge, as the thing in queſtion. We are to conſider who he was, and not form our ideas from the reſentment of the diſappointed goddeſſes, but from their diſpoſition, while they preferred his judgment to that of all others. It is uſual, that thoſe ſhould ſuffer from the more powerful, who have deſerved no harm; but no mortal could have been appointed judge between goddeſſes, or had ſuch an honour, unleſs he exceeded in wiſdom. I wonder any one can think him to have conſulted ill; if he choſe to live with her, for whoſe ſake many of the demi-gods choſe to die. How could he be otherwiſe than fooliſh, if, while he ſaw that goddeſſes contended about beauty, he ſhould have deſpiſed it? nor have eſteemed that the greateſt gift, which they were the moſt ſollicitous about? Who would have deſpiſed the bed of Helen? on account of whoſe being carried off from her huſ-

band, all the Greeks were fired with an equal indignation, as if Greece had been entirely plundered; and the Barbarians became as inſolent as if they had conquered us all. It is evident what were the diſpoſitions of both; for tho' many diſſenſions had happened betwixt them before, yet they remained quiet: but they ſtirred up ſo great a war for her, not in reſpect of the heat only, but time alſo, and the variety of preparations, as none were before. And when it was permitted the one party, by the reſtitution of Helen, to be freed from calamities, and the other, by the neglect of her, to paſs their whole lives in ſecurity, neither of them would do ſo; but one ſide ſuffered their cities to be overthrown, and their country to be laid waſte, before they would reſtore her to the Grecians; and the other choſe to grow old in a foreign land, never to ſee their own again, rather than, leaving her behind, return into their own countries. They did not do this upon account of Alexander and Menelaus; but as on one ſide contending for Aſia, and the other for Europe; thinking, that in whatever part of the world ſhe lived, it would be the more happy. And ſuch ardor was there in regard of that expedition, not only in Greeks and Barbarians, but likewiſe in the gods themſelves, that they did not even preſerve their own children from thoſe conflicts which happened before Troy. But tho' Jupiter foreknew the fate of Sarpedon, Aurora that of Sarpdon, Neptune that of Cygnus, Thetis that of Achilles, yet they exhorted them to it, and ſent them with others; judging it would be more glorious for them to die fighting for the daughter of Jupiter, than live without encountering dangers for her; nay, they themſelves ſuſtained a harder and more dubious conflict than what they had undergone againſt the giants: for they fought againſt theſe in mutual league; but for her they fought againſt one another. They certainly judged rightly; and I may uſe this loftineſs of expreſſion on this occaſion. She had the greateſt ſhare of beauty, which, of all things, is certainly the moſt admirable, valuable, and divine. It is an eaſy matter to know its power; for it will

appear

appear to have been more honoured than valour, wiſdom, or juſtice; and we ſhall find what is deprived of beauty to be had in no account, but every thing to be deſpiſed, if it does not participate of it; nay, that virtue itſelf is chiefly celebrated, becauſe its ſtudy is the moſt beautiful of all. But it may be known from hence, how far beauty excells all other things, if we conſider the diſpoſition of our minds towards it; for we deſire only to be poſſeſſed of the other things we ſtand in need of, nor are we affected by them in our minds any further; but ſuch a deſire is implanted in us of what is beautiful, that it has ſo much greater ſtrength than prudence, as the nature of beauty is the moſt excellent: and we envy thoſe who excel in underſtanding, or any other thing, unleſs they daily oblige us, and force us to love them; but we are favourable to the beautiful, as ſoon as ever we ſee them, and are never weary of worſhipping them, as if they were gods; nay, we more willingly obey ſuch than command others, thinking ourſelves more obliged, tho' they give us many commands, than if they commanded nothing at all. Thoſe who addreſs themſelves to perſons poſſeſſed of other excellencies, we are apt to reproach, and call flatterers; but we think thoſe elegant and ingenious, who devote themſelves to beauty; nay, we have ſuch a reſpect and reverence for this quality, that, ſhould any amongſt thoſe who are poſſeſſed of beauty, proſtitute it for money, and depreciate their youth, we ſtigmatize them with more infamy than thoſe who have offered violence to the bodies of others: but as for thoſe who have preſerved their beauty inacceſſible to others as a temple, we honour them ever after, as thoſe who have done ſome ſignal good to the city. Why ſhould we ſpend time in mentioning human opinions? Even Jupiter, who governs all, ſhews his power in other regards, but he does not diſdain to approach beauty in an humble manner; for he approached Alcmena in the form of her huſband Amphitryon; he enjoyed Danaë, flowing into her lap like gold; but he fled to the boſom of Nemeſis under the transformation of a ſwan; and, again, aſſimi-

lating himſelf to the ſame bird, he careſſed Leda. 'Tis certain, that he always prevailed over ſuch natures by art, and not by violence; nay, there is ſo much the greater honour paid amongſt the gods to beauty, than amongſt us, that they pardon their wives when they are overcome by beauty; and it is an eaſy matter to enumerate many immortal goddeſſes, who have been too weak for mortal beauty; none of whom would have the fact concealed, as if it had been any diſgrace; but as if all had paſſed to a wonder, they would rather have ſuch things celebrated by hymns than concealed. The greateſt proof of what I have ſaid is, that we ſhall find more made immortal for beauty than all other excellencies; all whom Helen as far excelled, as ſhe ſurpaſſed them in the beauty of her face. She not only obtained immortality, but, acquiring a power equal with the gods, firſt of all ſhe immortalized her brothers, who had been ſubject to death; but, deſigning to make this change illuſtrious, ſhe conferred on them ſuch conſpicuous honours, that, if they were ſeen by thoſe who were in danger at ſea, all ſhould be ſaved who prayed to them with devotion: and, afterwards, ſhe ſhewed ſuch gratitude to Menelaus for all his labours and dangers which he underwent upon her account, that, when the whole family of Pelops was ruined, and fallen into inextricable calamities, ſhe did not only free him, but, after ſhe had made him of a mortal a god, ſhe made him her copartner, and aſſeſſor for ever. And I can have, for witneſs of theſe things, the city of Sparta, which is particularly careful of preſerving antiquities; for even yet, at Therapnæ, in the Laconian territory, they make ſolemn ſacrifices to them, by their country's ritual, not only as to heroes, but as to divinities. She likewiſe ſhewed her power to the poet Steſichorus; for, in the beginning of a poem, having written ſomething of ſatire againſt her, he roſe next day deprived of his ſight; but after, upon his underſtanding the cauſe of his calamity, he made what is called his recantation, the goddeſs reſtored him to the ſame ſtate in which he was before. Some of the Homerides likewiſe affirm, that,

ſtand-

ſtanding by Homer in the night-time, ſhe ordered him to compoſe his poem of thoſe who had fought at Troy; having a mind to render their deaths more eligible than the lives of others: and that it was partly by the genius of Homer, but chiefly upon her account, that his poem is ſo full of beauty, and famous every-where. Therefore it becomes thoſe, who excel in riches, to appeaſe and honour her with donations, ſacrifices, and other religious worſhip, as one who is capable of inflicting puniſhment, and ſhewing gratitude; and it becomes the learned and eloquent to endeavour to ſay ſomething worthy of thoſe excellencies which ſhined out in her; for it certainly would redound to the honour of the liberally-educated, to offer her ſuch firſt-fruits of their genius.

MUCH more has been omitted by me than might have been ſaid; for we ought to think, that beſides both theſe arts, ſciences and utilities, which may be referred to her and the Trojan war, that it is juſtly alſo owing to Helen, that we are not ſlaves to the Barbarians; we ſhall find, that, by her means, the Greeks became united, undertook a common expedition againſt the Barbarians, and Europe then, for the firſt time, erected a trophy for the conqueſt of Aſia; whence happened ſuch a change, that tho', in former times, ſuch as were unhappy amongſt the Barbarians thought themſelves worthy of reigning in Grecian cities, Danaus the Egyptian fugitive had ſeized Argos, Cadmus the Sidonian had reigned in Thebes, Cares had poſſeſſed the iſlands, and Pelops, the ſon of Tantalus, ſubdued all Peloponneſus; yet, after this war, our nation received ſuch increaſe, that it ſnatched many cities, and a ſpacious country, from the Barbarians. Wherefore, if any will handle more accurately, and protract theſe topics, he will not want an opportunity of praiſing Helen beyond what I have done; but ſuch will find out many new and noble arguments for making her elogium.

THE ELEVENTH
ORATION
OF
ISOCRATES:
OR,
His Panegyric of BUSIRIS.

The SUBJECT.

BUSIRIS is famous in hiſtory. This oration ſeems written to convince a ſophiſt of his abſurdity, who had delighted in writing upon extravagant ſubjects, and dared to compoſe a mercenary oration for the perſecution of Socrates, a man who ſhone with all human virtues. It contains, tho' digreſſively, fine and juſt ſentiments, and deſerves to be read for its art and ornaments.

THE ELEVENTH ORATION of ISOCRATES: OR, His Panegyric of BUSIRIS.

I HAVE underſtood from others, O Polycrates! your moderation and change of life; and having read myſelf ſome of thoſe diſcourſes which you have publiſhed, I ſhould willingly reaſon with you about your method of inſtruction, which you have been obliged to engage in; for I think, that, upon all ſuch as are undeſervedly unhappy, and endeavour by literature to gain money, all who are more experienced and accurate ought to confer ſuch a favour. But as we have never yet met together, when we happen to do ſo, we may diſcourſe about other things more at large. In regard of ſuch benefits as I can do you at preſent, I think I ought now to communicate them to you, but carefully conceal the ſame from others; for I know, that it is natural to moſt of thoſe who are admoniſhed, that they do not conſider the utility, but are the more offended, in proportion as ſuch monitors more accurately inſpect into their errors. But yet thoſe who are of a benevolent mind to others, muſt not be afraid of incurring ſuch miſtaken reſentment, but muſt endeavour to change their ſentiments, who are affected in this manner againſt thoſe who conſult their good. Having obſerved therefore, that you do not a little glory in the defence of Buſiris, and the accuſation of

Socrates, I will endeavour to convince you, that you have departed from the duty of an orator in both theſe diſcourſes; for tho' it is known by all, that it is part of thoſe who will praiſe others, to attribute more excellencies to them than they are poſſeſſed of, and of them who accuſe, to do the contrary, it is far from being true, that you have uſed eloquence in this manner; for tho' you profeſs to write a defence of Buſiris, you are ſo far from freeing him from thoſe crimes which are objected to him, that you have charged him with ſuch an atrocious degree of wickedneſs, as cannot poſſibly be exceeded by invention; for tho' others, who endeavoured to reproach him, only accuſed him of this, that he ſacrificed the ſtrangers who came to him, you have accuſed him even of devouring the very men. But when you would accuſe Socrates, as if you had deſigned to praiſe him, you give him Alcibiades for a pupil; whom no one ever knew to have been educated by Socrates; but that he far excelled others, all men are well acquainted. Wherefore, was it permitted the dead to determine of thoſe things which have been ſaid by you, the one would return you thanks, and the other, tho' he had been the moſt humane of all men, yet would be ſo inflamed with indignation, that he would abſtain from no revenge. But why ſhould not that man bluſh rather than glory, who ought to be better loved by thoſe who have been reviled by him, than by thoſe who have been praiſed? And you ſo far neglect the care of ſpeaking conſiſtently, that you ſay, Buſiris was emulous of the glory of Æolus and Orpheus; but yet you demonſtrate, that he applied himſelf to none of thoſe ſtudies and inſtitutes, which they excelled in. Can we compare his actions with thoſe of Æolus, as mentioned in hiſtory? for the latter ſent back in ſafety to their countries, ſuch ſtrangers as had been caſt upon his ſhore; but the other (if we are to believe what is ſaid by you) eat the gueſts whom he had ſacrificed. Shall we compare him with Orpheus? he brought back the dead from hell; but Buſiris ſlew others immaturely: ſo that I ſhould be deſirous of knowing what that man would have

done, had he deſpiſed the merits of others, when he evidently did ſuch things to thoſe whoſe virtues he admired? But what is the moſt glaringly abſurd, is, that, handling the topic of genealogy, you have dared to advance, how that he imitated them, whoſe fathers, in thoſe times, were not born. But that I may not ſeem to do what is moſt eaſy, reprehend what has been ſaid by others, and give no proof of myſelf, I will endeavour to explain to you briefly, even upon this ſubject, which is not reputable, nor admitting of an illuſtrious oration, how one ſhould make a panegyric, or an apology.

WHO is there, who cannot ſpeak of the nobility of Buſiris? whoſe father was Neptune, and mother Libya, the daughter of Epaphus, the ſon of Jupiter; who, they ſay, the firſt of women obtained a kingdom, and left her name to it. But having ſuch parents, he was not proud on that account; but judged, he ought to leave a monument of his virtues to all poſterity. He therefore deſpiſed his mother's kingdom, as thinking it unworthy of him; but having conquered very many, and acquired a great power, he fixed his kingdom in Egypt, becauſe he thought it not only amongſt all the regions he poſſeſſed, but the nobleſt ſeat of all other countries of the earth; for he ſaw other places not ſituated opportunely and conveniently, in reſpect of the nature of the whole univerſe, but ſome to be inundated by ſhowers, and others ſcorched by heats; yet that this country, ſituated in the beautifulleſt part of the globe, could produce the moſt and beſt fruits, and was ſurrounded by the Nile, as with an impregnable wall, was appointed by nature not only to give it ſafety, but plenty of proviſions; and tho' it was inſuperable and invincible to enemies, yet was commodious for carriages, and uſeful, in many reſpects, to thoſe who dwelt within it. Beſides what I have mentioned, he made their power in agriculture almoſt divine; for as for ſhowers and droughts, which Jupiter is the diſpenſer of to others, of both theſe rendered he himſelf maſter. And the Egyptians arrived at

that

that pitch of happineſs, that they enjoy the continent in the excellency and nature of their ſoil, and the extent of their fields, and ſeem to inhabit an iſland, by the exportation of their products, and the importation of what is wanting to them; for the Nile running round and through it, has ſupplied them with both theſe conveniencies. He therefore began, as all wiſe men ſhould, by chuſing the pleaſanteſt place, and providing ſufficiency for all his ſubjects.

AFTERWARDS, diſtributing them all by order, ſome he made prieſts, others he turned to trades, others he obliged to exerciſe the arts of war; judging, that things neceſſary, and riches, muſt ariſe from agriculture and mechanics; and that the ſureſt protection of them is, military practice, and religion towards the gods. And, afterwards, he took the compleateſt meaſures to lay down ſuch rules, whereby the ſtate might be moſt prudently governed; he ordered they ſhould continually keep up the ſame vocations, knowing well, that thoſe who change their employments, become improper to finiſh any thing accurately; but that each of thoſe who continue conſtant in the ſame ſtudies, arrive at excellency. Wherefore, we ſhall find them more excelling thoſe who are converſant in the ſame ſciences, than artificers, in other places, thoſe who are ignorant of them; and, in reſpect of that order, whereby they preſerve the kingdom and the commonwealth, they ſo well behave themſelves, that even thoſe philoſophers, who have choſen to ſpeak upon theſe topics, and are the moſt famous, preſer the form of government in Egypt before all others; and the Lacedæmonians, by intermixing ſome of their laws, govern their city in the beſt and wiſeſt manner; for in as much as no one of the military men travels abroad without leave of the magiſtrate, that they have common feaſts and exerciſes of the body, and, by wanting none of the neceſſaries of life, neglect not the public edicts, nor buſy themſelves in other arts, but apply their minds to arms and expeditions; I ſay, they have had all theſe maxims thence. But the Lacedæmonians have, ſo much the more imprudently than

than they, uſed theſe inſtitutes, that, by making themſelves all ſoldiers, they endeavour to ſeize upon others poſſeſſions; but the Egyptians live ſo as becomes thoſe who neither neglect their own, or lie in wait for what belongs to others. Any one may perceive the difference of the methods in governing the two commonwealths thus: for ſhould we all imitate the ſloth and avarice of the Lacedæmonians, we ſhould ſoon periſh, both on account of the want of daily food, and inteſtine wars amongſt ourſelves; but ſhould we follow the inſtitutes of the Egyptians, ſome of us apply ourſelves to induſtry, and others to the protection of the ſtate, we ſhould all of us paſs our days happily in our own poſſeſſions. Moreover, any one may juſtly imagine him to have been the origin of the ſtudy of wiſdom; for he procured the prieſts affluence, by religious revenues, inſpired them with temperance, by ritual ſanctity, and he furniſhed them with leiſure, by immunities from war and other dangers; and living thus amidſt ſuch advantages, they invented the help of phyſic, not that indeed which uſes hazardous remedies, but ſuch as has a ſecurity like to daily food. They were authors of ſuch benefits, and they are confeſſed to be the moſt healthy and long-lived of all men. They have likewiſe ſhewn their ingenuity by the ſtudies of philoſophy, ſo as both to have inſtituted laws, and ſearched into the nature of all things. But he appointed the old men for the practice of what was beſt, and perſuaded the youth to deſpiſe pleaſures, and be converſant with the ſtudies of aſtronomy, arithmetic, and geometry; which faculties ſome praiſe as conducive to other things, and ſome endeavour to demonſtrate, that they conduce highly to the attainment of virtue: but it is particularly juſt to praiſe and admire their piety and worſhip of the gods; for as many as ſo prepare themſelves as to be more eſteemed for philoſophy, or any virtue, than they deſerve, hurt certainly the deceived: but they, who ſo keep up the dignity of religion, that its rewards and puniſhments ſeem ſurer than other events, muſt greatly benefit mankind; for they, who at firſt ſtruck us with

with this fear, were the cauſe that we live not amongſt one another, not in a ſavage manner as beaſts; but they behave themſelves with ſuch holineſs and gravity in this regard, that their religious oaths are kept much more ſacred than they are amongſt other people; and each thinks he ſhall immediately ſuffer for his fault, nor lie hid at preſent, and the penalty be transferred to his children: and, doubtleſs, they judge right in this manner. He appointed for them many and various divine exerciſes, and ordered them by law, to worſhip ſome of thoſe animals which are deſpiſed amongſt us; not that he was ignorant of their natures, but that he judged it proper both to accuſtom the common people to obey the magiſtrates in all commands, and have an experience, in manifeſt things, what notion the vulgar had of hidden ones; for he judged, that, perhaps thoſe who deſpiſed ſuch things, would deſpiſe greater; but that thoſe, who obſerved order in all, had given a proof that their piety was eſtabliſhed *. Now, one who did not haſten to a concluſion, might ſpeak many and pompous things of their ſanctity, which it is not I who have firſt obſerved, but many likewiſe both of the preſent and paſt ages; of whom Pythagoras the Samian is one; who travelling into Egypt, and becoming their diſciple, he both introduced the other philoſophy into Greece, and more manifeſtly ſhewed his zeal in what belongs to ſacrifices and conſecrations in temples; thinking, that tho' he ſhould obtain nothing more for this from the gods, yet he ſhould thereby be rendered particularly famous amongſt all men; which indeed happened: for he ſo far excelled others in fame, that all youths deſired to be his diſciples, and old men rather choſe to ſee their children converſant with him than attentive to buſineſs. None can diſbelieve this; for even now we more admire ſuch, who profeſs themſelves his diſciples, for their very ſilence, than thoſe who have acquired the greateſt glory by their eloquence.

* This is perhaps the beſt apology for all the ſuperſtitions which remain among Chriſtians.

PERHAPS,

PERHAPS, you will object to what has been ſaid, that I praiſe indeed the country, laws, piety, and wiſdom of the Egyptians; but I can give no proof, that he was the author of what I have mentioned. Should any one elſe reprehend me in this ſort, I ſhould think he deſigned ingeniouſly to blame me; but you ſhould not uſe ſuch an argument: for when you praiſed Buſiris, you took it in your head to ſay, that he made the Nile flow round Egypt, and devoured thoſe foreigners who came there; but that he did this, you gave no proof. Now, is it not ridiculous to require that of others, which you do not attempt yourſelf? You are remoter than I from ſpeaking things credible, becauſe I do not aſſert him author of any thing impoſſible, but of laws, and the eſtabliſhment of a commonwealth; which are the works of good and famous men. But you make him the effecter of what no mortal ever performed: for one of the actions you attribute to him, is beſtial ſavageneſs, and the other, an act of the power of the gods. Beſides, if both of us ſpeak what is falſe, yet I have uſed ſuch expreſſions as become thoſe who praiſe others; but you, ſuch as are proper for them who diſpraiſe. Wherefore it is certain, that you have not only erred in the truth of things, but in the very forms, whereby we ought to praiſe. In fine, if, omitting your oration, my oration was to be examined, none would reaſonably diſtruſt it; for was it certain, that ſome others had done thoſe things, which I ſay were done by him, I would confeſs myſelf too bold, if I endeavoured to change their opinions about things which all knew. But ſince the ſubject is common, and we are to make a conjecture, whom would any one believe to have been the authors of the cuſtoms eſtabliſhed there, if he conſiders the thing in a probable light, rather than him who was begotten by Neptune, derived by his mother from Jupiter, inveſted with the greateſt power of any in his time, and moſt famous amongſt all? It is not congruous, that thoſe who were rather deprived of theſe advantages, ſhould have been the authors of ſuch good to their country before him.

Moreover, it is eaſy, from the times, to convict thoſe haranguers, who have endeavoured to diſpraiſe him, of evident falſehood; for they accuſe Buſiris of the ſlaughter of his gueſts, and, they ſay, he was ſlain himſelf by Hercules. Now, it is agreed by all writers of hiſtory, that Hercules was later by four ages than Perſeus the ſon of Jupiter and Danaë; but that Buſiris was above two hundred years earlier than Perſeus. Now, how is it otherwiſe than abſurd, that, when you deſigned to refute the aſperſions caſt upon him, you omitted this argument, which is ſo evident, and ſupported with ſo great ſtrength? But you had no care of truth, you followed the calumnies of the poets, who aſſert thoſe to have perpetrated and ſuffered more atrocious things, who were born from gods, than thoſe who were begotten by the moſt wicked men; nay, they have compoſed ſuch fictions of the gods themſelves, as no one would dare to make of his enemies; for they have not only reproached them with thefts, adulteries, and ſlavery to men, but the eating of children, caſtration of parents, concubinage with mothers, and a variety of other enormous crimes: for which, indeed, they did not ſuffer worthy puniſhment, but, however, they did not go off quite unpuniſhed; for ſome of them were vagabonds, and deſtitute of daily food; others ſtruck blind; others baniſhed their countries, and forced to carry on war with their relations and domeſtics all their lives. Orpheus, who was the particular inventer of ſuch fables, was torn to pieces; wherefore, if we are wiſe, we ſhall never imitate their writings, nor ſhall we make laws againſt thoſe who abuſe one another, and bear with impunity the licence of declaiming againſt the gods: we ſhall take care, and think thoſe who ſay ſuch things equally guilty with thoſe who believe them. I judge, not only the gods, but their children, were never guilty of any crimes; but, being by nature themſelves endowed with all virtues, became the leaders and maſters to others in all virtuous ſtudies; for it muſt be abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the gods take care of the happineſs of our children, and that they are negligent

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of their own. If any of us could become lord of human nature, such a one would not suffer his domestics to be villains: I say then, could there be such lords of mankind, with what indignation should we resent it, if they suffered their own children to be impious and profligate? And do you think, that you shall render those who come to you as disciples, tho' not belonging to you, virtuous; and yet judge the gods take no manner of care of their own offspring? In your opinion, they are not free from two of the basest crimes; for, if they will not have them to be good, they are of a worse disposition than men; but if they would, and are ignorant of the methods, they have less power than even sophists.

Tho' many things remain on this subject, by which any one might amplify this panegyric and defence, yet I think I ought not to use a more diffuse discourse; for I have treated of these things, not out of a view of giving others a demonstration, but of instructing you, how one ought to execute both these designs. Any one would think that oration which you wrote was not a defence, but a confession of the crimes of Busiris. You do not free him from crimes, but you shew some others have done the same; so if this would be the easiest refuge for the guilty. But it is no easy matter to imagine any crime, which has not already in some time been committed; and we judge none of those are guilty of an atrocity, provided some others have done the like; must we not thereby render defence open to all, and give a great licentiousness to all who are inclined to be wicked? You will particularly perceive the absurdity of the things you have advanced, if you consider them in respect to yourself. Reflect; was you guilty of great and enormous crimes, and should any defend you in such a manner, in what temper would you be on such an occasion? I know, you would more detest him than your very accusers. But how can it be otherwise than disgraceful, to make such a defence for others, as, were it made for yourself, you would be filled with indignation? Consider this, and exa-

mine it in your mind: If any of your intimate friends should be induced to perpetrate such things as you commend, how could he avoid being the most miserable both of those who now are, and of all that have been? Now, does it become a man to write such an oration, the best quality of which is to perfuade no body? Perhaps, you will say, you were not ignorant of it; but had a mind to set an example to the studious of eloquence, how it becomes a person to make defences of base and infamous causes. But if you was ignorant of it before, I suppose it is now evident to you, that any one will sooner be absolved by saying nothing, than by making such a defence. This likewise is manifest, that tho' philosophy labours, as it were, under fatal necessity, and is hated by all, it might become much more odious to all by such orations. Wherefore, if you will listen to me, you will not handle, for the future, such impious subjects; or, at least, you will endeavour to say such things, by which you may neither seem more wicked yourself, nor corrupt your imitators, nor bring the profession of eloquence into disgrace. Nor wonder, if I, who am younger, nor any way related to you, now admonish you so freely; for I do not think it the office of the elder, or the most intimate, but of those who are the most able and willing to benefit, to give good counsel to others.

THE

THE TWELFTH ORATION OF ISOCRATES: CALLED THE PANATHENAICUS; OR, PANEGYRIC of ATHENS.

The SUBJECT.

HE begins with a commemoration of his old age, of his manner of writing his life, and the calumnies of ſophiſts: then he ſays, that the Athenians deſerved better of Greece than any others. But tho' he had touched upon this topic before in the panegyric, yet he ſays, that was not ſo proper an opportunity as this. He compares the Athenians merits with thoſe of the Lacedæmonians, and gives the preference to the former. In fine, he uſes every art to extol the Athenians, and concludes, after his frequent manner, in pleading his old age and infirmity as an excuſe; tho' he evidently deſires conſiderate readers, and ſatirizes the folly and raſhneſs of the dull and inattentive in paſſing their judgment of his compoſition. Methinks, I hear old Neſtor ſpeaking in this oration, whom Homer has rendered famous for ſelf-praiſe, tho' founded on merit.

THE TWELFTH ORATION of ISOCRATES: CALLED THE PANATHENAICUS; OR, PANEGYRIC of ATHENS.

WHEN I was younger, I did not chuſe to write fabulous orations, nor ſuch as were full of prodigies and lies, which the vulgar generally more delight in than ſuch as are calculated for their good; nor did I chuſe thoſe which explain the antient tranſactions of the Grecians, tho' I knew that they were juſtly praiſed; nor ſuch as are eſteemed of a ſimple nature, nor admit of ornament; which thoſe do who are eſteemed to excel in the handling litigious ſuits, if they thus would conquer their adverſaries. But, omitting all topics of this nature, I employed myſelf in thoſe diſcourſes, which belonged to the advantage of our city, might be the hint of good advice to other Grecians, were filled with many enthymens, with antitheſes, and other rhetorical figures, which make eloquence ſhine, and the auditors to applaud, and be in tranſport. But I meditate nothing of this now; for I do not think it is proper for ninety-four years, which I am of, nor any who have

grey hairs, to expreſs themſelves in that manner; but in ſuch a one, as tho' all might hope for, or deſire, yet none could eaſily attain, but by intenſely labouring, and employing their whole mind. I have ſpoke thus in the preface, to the intent, that if this oration, which is now to be recited, ſhould appear of a gentler nature than thoſe which have been publiſhed before, none may compare it with their variety, but would judge of it by its merits in the preſent caſe; for I will diſcourſe of the actions performed by our city, and of the virtue of our anceſtors, not indeed beginning with them, but from what has happened to myſelf. I think this concerns me moſt; for tho' I endeavoured to live blameleſs, and without offence to any one, I have paſſed no part of my life, without being attacked with calumnies by wicked and obſcure ſophiſts; and, as I cannot be known perſonally by ſome, am judged ſuch as they have heard from others: I therefore deſign to ſpeak of myſelf firſt, and of thoſe who are in ſuch a diſpoſition towards me, that, if I can, I may reſtrain them from abuſing me, and inform others in what ſtudies they ought to employ themſelves: for if I can perfectly explain myſelf on this ſubject, I hope I ſhall paſs the remainder of my life without moleſtation, and thoſe, who are preſent, will be more attentive to the oration which is reciting.

I WILL not be aſhamed to expreſs clearly, neither my preſent perturbation, nor the abſurdity I am conſcious of, nor will I reaſon whether I am doing what becomes me. In the firſt place, let me ſay, I have obtained the greateſt goods, which all would wiſh themſelves to be poſſeſſed of, health both of body and mind, not in an ordinary degree, but ſo as I might contend with thoſe who have enjoyed theſe qualities in the happieſt degree. Secondly, that plenty of neceſſary things, that I never wanted what was moderate, and a prudent man would deſire. And, laſtly, I have not lived as a vulgar abject perſon, but ſuch an one as the politeſt of the Greeks have made mention of, and ſtiled the beſt of mankind. Tho' all theſe things happened to me, ſome

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in an extraordinary, and ſome in a ſufficient degree, yet I am not contented to live ſo; but my old age is ſo moroſe and querulous, that I have often found fault with my genius (which yet no one has deſpiſed), and even pitied my fortunes; tho' I have nothing to find fault with on this head, but that I have paſſed my life in the ſtudy of philoſophy, which has expoſed me to certain calamities and calumnies. I knew, I had a nature which was too infirm and ſoft for the tranſaction of buſineſs, nor adequate to conſummate eloquence, nor proper for all things, but yet capable to conjecture of the truth of things, better than thoſe who made profeſſion of knowing it; tho', to confeſs ingenuouſly, I was unequal to ſpeak of theſe things in public aſſemblies more than any man; for I am ſo deſtitute of both thoſe things, which have the greateſt power with us, a ſufficient voice and boldneſs, that I queſtion whether any of the citizens is more; and thoſe who have not theſe faculties, are more deſpiſed, and are caſt into an inferior rank, than thoſe who are obnoxious to the public; for the latter may pay their penalties, but the former can never change their natures. Yet I did not, for all this, out of a baſe and abject mind, ſuffer myſelf to be entirely inglorious and obſcure; but ſeeing I am incapable of any public adminiſtration, I had recourſe to ſtudy, induſtry, and writing what I judged proper; not chuſing ſlight ſubjects, ſmall things, private contracts, or ſuch other things, as others trifle about, but of the concerns of Greece, kings, and the republic; for which, I thought, I ought the more to be honoured, than thoſe who aſcend our venal roſtrum, as I compoſed orations on greater and more beautiful ſubjects; which yet has not happened to me: and all know, that many orators dare not to ſpeak of ſuch things as will benefit the commonwealth, but of ſuch as will be lucrative to themſelves; but they know, that both I and mine have not only more abſtained than others from the public goods, but have been at greater expences for the public neceſſities than our circumſtances admitted: beſides, they ſee others in aſſemblies reproaching

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one another about depoſitums, troubleſome to their friends, or calumniating ſuch others as occur; but me, to have been the author of ſuch orations, which exhort the Greeks both to concord amongſt one another, and to undertake an expedition againſt the Barbarians, which counſel them to ſend out common colonies to ſuch a ſpacious region, which, whoever have heard of, ſay, that, if we become wiſe, and omit our mutual madneſs, we ſhall eaſily ſeize on without labours and dangers, and that it will eaſily contain all, who now want neceſſaries amongſt us. Now, did all aſſembled together examine into thoſe things, they could never find out actions more glorious, greater, or more conducive to our intereſt. But tho' we ſo vary among ourſelves in opinions, and I have ſo far a nobler topic, yet the vulgar have not judged rightly, but in an inconſiderate, raſh manner, of my intention; for altho' they reproach the conduct, and reprehend the manners of other orators, they make them magiſtrates and maſters of themſelves; and while they praiſe my orations, they envy me, for no other reaſon, but for the very orations which they approve: ſo unluckily am I circumſtanced with them. But why ſhould we wonder at thoſe, who have ſuch a diſpoſition againſt all excellency, when ſome of thoſe, who think they excel and emulate me, nay, deſire to imitate me, are more my enemies than the unlearned? Who can find baſer perſons than ſuch? I will ſay it, tho' I may ſeem to ſpeak with more haughtineſs and ſharpneſs than ſuits my age, that thoſe men, tho' they can teach their diſciples nothing without the aſſiſtance of what I have ſaid, and they uſe my orations as examples, nay, live by them, they are ſo far from gratitude to me, that they not only neglect me, but are always ſpeaking ſome evil of me. While they ill-treated my orations, comparing them with their own; while they read mine in as bad a tone as poſſible, not dividing them juſtly, but tearing them aſunder, in ſhort, every way depraving them, I ſet light by what was told me, and bore all patiently. But I was filled with indignation on their account, a little while before

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the great Athenian aſſembly; for ſome of my friends meeting me, told me, that three or four of the herd of ſophiſts, fellows who pretend to know every thing, and fly ſwiftly from place to place, were ſitting together in the Lyceum, and diſcourſing about the poets, and particularly Heſiod and Homer, producing nothing of their own, but however repeating their verſes in a rhapſodical manner, mixed with the moſt elegant paſſages in other writers. Some in the company having approved of their diſputation, one of them, bolder than the others, began to revile me, ſaying, I deſpiſed things of this nature; that I overturned the inſtitutes and ſtudies of all, and that I declared all were delirious, who did not follow my diſcipline; and when this had been ſaid, ſome became leſs friendly diſpoſed to me. I cannot expreſs how much I grieved, and was diſturbed, to think, that any ſhould believe I would ſpeak in ſuch a manner; for I thought it was ſo evident, that I always declared myſelf againſt thoſe who boaſt of themſelves, and that I always thought moderately and humbly of myſelf, that no man could be thought worthy of credit, who would ſay, that I ever uſed ſuch arrogance. But I have not without reaſon complained of my unhappineſs, which has always attended me from ſuch men. This is the cauſe of all the falſities ſpread about me, of the calumnies and invidious language, and that I cannot acquire the general eſteem which I deſerve, nor that which is granted me by all others, or which ſome of my friends allow me, who have ſeen mein all circumſtances. That thoſe things ſhould not have happened ſo, is now impoſſible; and there is a neceſſity of my being contented.

While many topics of diſcourſe occur to my mind, I am doubtful whether I ſhould retaliate upon thoſe who have been accuſtomed to ſpread falſe reports of me, and are bold enough to affirm what I do not deſerve. But if I ſhould ſeriouſly undertake this affair, and compoſe an oration about thoſe men, whom no one ever thought worthy of mention, I might juſtly incur the blame of folly: therefore, ſcorning them as envious wretches, I will endeavour to convince others,

others, that they neither juſtly, or worthily, entertain ſuch a notion of me. And who is there, who would not condemn me of imprudence, if I ſhould imagine thoſe men, who never were my enemies, but becauſe I have ſeemed to write ſome things elegantly, after I have ſpoken in the ſame manner as before, will grieve leſs upon account of my oration, but rather more; eſpecially ſhould I appear, though in ſuch an advanced age, not yet to be delirious? But yet no one ſhall perſuade me to ſet thoſe ſo aſide, and neglect them, as to finiſh directly the oration, whereby I deſign to ſhew, that our city has been the cauſe of more good to Greece than Lacedæmon. Should I do ſo, nor conclude what I have begun, or join the beginning of what I have begun, with the end of what is to be ſaid, I ſhould be like thoſe, who throw out raſhly, importunely, and confuſedly, whatever comes into their minds; things which I ought to avoid.

It will be the beſt, if I ſpeak of what I propoſed in the beginning; for I think, if I produce in writing what idea I have of education and the poets, they will ceaſe to invent falſe crimes, and ſay whatever comes into their heads: but, at the ſame time, I admoniſh thoſe, who are affectionate to ſuch ſtudies, not to be concerned, nor be too ſtrictly attentive to all that I ſhall ſay, while I allow, that if ſuch learning is good for nothing elſe, at leaſt, it averts young people from many treſpaſſes. I therefore judge, there never was found out, for ſuch, more uſeful or becoming exerciſes. But I do not ſay, that the ſame ſtudies become the more advanced in years, and are eſteemed perfect men; for I ſee ſome of thoſe, who ſo accurately underſtand theſe arts, that they teach others, not uſing prudently their ſcience, but more ignorant in the concerns of life than their ſcholars, I am afraid of ſaying, than their ſlaves. I have the ſame opinion of popular orators, and thoſe who are famous for the compoſition of ſuch orations; and, in a word, of all who are diſtinguiſhed by faculties (as they are called) and ſciences; for I know moſt of theſe neither conduct their

private

private affairs well, nor are tolerable in their converſation, make little account of the eſteem of their fellow-citizens, and are guilty of many and great tranſgreſſions. Wherefore I do not judge them poſſeſſed of that habit I deſign to ſpeak of. Whom then do I judge learned, ſince I reprehend arts, ſciences, and faculties? Firſt, thoſe who make a right uſe of daily occurrences, that have a judgment proper to ſeize opportunities, and capable, for the moſt part, of hitting the mark of utility; next, ſuch as always behave themſelves in a becoming and juſt manner with thoſe they converſe with, and bear others ſpleen and moroſeneſs with eaſe and good-nature, and render themſelves as much as poſſible more agreeable and moderate in reſpect of all their friends. Beſides, thoſe who are always maſters of their pleaſures, are not much depreſſed by adverſity, but behave themſelves like men, and worthy of that nature we partake of. Fourthly, which is the chief, thoſe who are not corrupted with proſperity, nor forget themſelves, or become proud, but keep the poſt of prudence, nor take greater pleaſure in the goods which flow in from fortune, than thoſe which were acquired in the beginning by their own good conduct and ingenuity. But thoſe, who have not minds capable of one of theſe qualities, but of all, I affirm, they are wiſe and perfect men, and poſſeſs all virtues. This is my opinion of the learned.

I SHALL now expreſs my ſentiments of the poetry of Homer, and others; for I judge I ſhall thereby cauſe thoſe to be ſilent, who chaunt their verſes in the Lyceum, and trifle about them. But I perceive I am carried away beyond the bounds which are preſcribed to preambles; for it becomes a prudent man, not to love ſuch a diffuſive eloquence, whereby he may ſpeak upon the ſame topics more than others, but obſerve moderation in all he reaſons about; which is alſo my duty. I ſhall therefore ſpeak another time of the poets, unleſs old age firſt takes me out of the world; for more noble ſubjects preſent themſelves to me, than ſuch would be. I will therefore make my diſcourſe of thoſe

thoſe benefits which have been conferred by our city upon all Greece; not becauſe I have not written more panegyrics upon it than all who profeſs poetry or eloquence; but that I do not deſign to ſpeak in the ſame manner as before; for then I made mention of it, when I treated of other things: now, I have made it my ſubject. I am not ignorant what an arduous hypotheſis I chuſe in my old age; but perfectly knowing, and having often declared, that it is eaſy to give a grandeur to ſmall things by eloquence, I will ſay, it is a difficult taſk to equal elogium with what is noble and ſublime. Yet we are not to deſiſt for this, but finiſh what we have begun, if nature grants longer life, eſpecially ſince many motives induce me to make this oration. Firſt, ſuch men as are wont impudently to accuſe our city; then, thoſe who praiſe it elegantly, but without judgment, and leſs than it deſerves; and, beſides, thoſe who dare to praiſe it more boldly than others, but not ſo well as to prevent the objections of many: and, finally, my greateſt motive is my age, which uſually diſcourages others; for I hope, if I ſucceed, to increaſe my reputation; but if I ſpeak beneath myſelf, I ſhall have a ready pardon from the hearers. What I therefore deſigned to preface concerning myſelf and others, as thoſe who prelude in muſic before a concert, I have now finiſhed.

Now I judge, that thoſe who would accurately and juſtly praiſe any city, ſhould not only make that alone their topic, which they deſign to ſpeak of; but as we examine and try purple and gold, by ſhewing near them natures of the ſame ſpecies and value; I judge, I ſay, that ſmall cities ſhould not be compared with great, nor thoſe which have been accuſtomed in all times to govern, with thoſe who were accuſtomed to ſerve, nor thoſe cities which are capable of preſerving others, with ſuch as need protection: but I judge, thoſe cities ſhould be compared together, which are poſſeſſed of a like power, have been converſant in the ſame affairs, and are of equal authority; for thus will they moſt eaſily come at the truth. Now, if any one conſider us in this light,

right, and not compare us with any city, but with that of Sparta, which many praiſe moderately, but ſome ſpeak of, as if demi-gods governed that republic, we ſhall be found to have left them farther behind in beneficence towards Greece, than they have left all others; and I ſhall mention hereafter our antient conflicts for the good of Greece. Now, I ſhall make my diſcourſe of them, beginning from the time when they ſeized upon the Achaic cities, and divided the country with the Argives and Meſſenians; for from hence we ought to diſcourſe about them. Our anceſtors will be perceived to have preſerved, from the Trojan times, the concord of the Grecians, and enmity with the Barbarians, and and to have perſevered in the ſame affections. And, firſt of all, in reſpect of the iſlands Cyclades, concerning which many diſputes aroſe under the government of Minos, when they laſtly were poſſeſſed by the Carians; after they drove the Carians out, they did not make them their own provinces, but they placed in them a colony of the moſt indigent Grecians: afterwards they built many and great cities on both ſides of the continent, drove the Barbarians from the ſea, and taught the Grecians by what method of government, and by carrying on war againſt whom in particular, they might enlarge and aggrandize Greece. But the Lacedæmonians were ſo far, in that time, from doing any thing of this nature, as our anceſtors (who commenced war againſt the Barbarians, and benefited the Grecians) that they would not even remain quiet; but having a city belonging to others, and not only a ſufficient territory, but ſo large as none of the other Grecian cities had, they were not content with this; but learning by events, that cities indeed, and countries, according to laws, appear their right, who juſtly poſſeſs them, but, in fact, become theirs who moſt ſkilfully exerciſe military art, and can conquer their enemies in battle: I ſay, reflecting on this, and neglecting agriculture, trades, and all other things, they never ceaſed to attack and diſturb, one by one, all the cities of Peloponneſus, except that of Argos. Now, it happened from what we did, that Greece

was

was enlarged, and Europe became maſter of Aſia; beſides, that the neceſſitous Greeks received cities and lands, but that the Barbarians, who before commenced inſults, were driven out of the country, and became of more ſubmiſſive minds than they had been: but from what the Spartans did, it happened, that their city alone was aggrandized, and made famous, and governed all the cities in Peloponneſus, and had great reſpect ſhewed it from them. It is certainly juſt to praiſe that city, which was the cauſe of many goods to others, and to judge that unjuſt, which only procured itſelf advantages; to eſteem thoſe friends, who treat others on the ſame footing as themſelves, but to fear and apprehend thoſe who are of the moſt friendly mind amongſt themſelves, yet adminiſter their government with a viſible hoſtile intention towards others: ſuch, therefore, was the foundation of the government in both cities.

AFTERWARDS, upon the commencement of the Perſian war, when Xerxes, who then reigned, had got together twelve hundred ſhips, five million foot, ſeven hundred thouſand of whom were regular troops, and entered Greece with ſuch a vaſt army, the Spartans, tho' they governed all Peloponneſus, ſent only ten ſhips to the naval battle, which gave a turn to the whole war; but our fathers, tho' they were forced from their country, and had abandoned the city, becauſe it was not at that time fortified, afforded better ſhips, and better provided with forces, than all together who ran that danger. And the Lacedæmonians ſent, as their admiral, Eurybiades, who, could he have effected what he deſigned, muſt have ruined all Greece; but ours ſent Themiſtocles, who was thought indiſputably to be the cauſe that the naval engagement was wiſely conducted, as well as author, beſides, of all that was proſperouſly acted in that time; for when they, who had been allies, had wreſted the ſovereignty from the Lacedæmonians, they conferred it on us. And what better judges can any one imagine, or more worthy of credit, of the tranſactions of thoſe times, than thoſe who were preſent in the battles? or, what benefit can be ſuppoſed

poſed greater than the preſervation of all Greece from deſtruction?

It happened afterwards, that each became ſovereign of the ſea; which whoſoever holds, muſt have the greateſt number of cities in ſubjection. Not that I praiſe in this regard either city; for one may blame both in many reſpects. But we have not leſs excelled them in this adminiſtration, than in what I have mentioned before; for our fathers perſuaded their allies to conſtitute ſuch a form of government, as they themſelves had always preferred. Now, it is certainly a ſign of benevolence and kindneſs, when perſons exhort others to uſe thoſe inſtitutes, which they have found profitable to themſelves. But the Lacedæmonians conſtituted republics, which were neither ſimilar to their own, nor like thoſe conſtituted elſewhere, but only made ten men of each city its lords; whom ſhould a perſon endeavour, for three or four ſucceſſive days, to accuſe continually, he would not be able to expreſs a part of their crimes and oppreſſions. It would be abſurd to comment particularly upon ſuch and ſo numerous inſtances: but, perhaps, I ſhould have reflected on a few, which would have excited a worthy anger in the hearers, if I had been younger. But I have now no ſuch intention; however, it is confeſſed by all, that they ſo far exceeded all who went before them, in rapacity and injuſtice, that they not only ruined themſelves, their friends, and their countries, but likewiſe, by expoſing the Lacedæmonians to the odium of their allies, plunged them too into ſo many and great calamities, as no one would have ever imagined could have befallen them. From hence any one may ſee, with how much more mildneſs and clemency we managed affairs, and likewiſe from what follows: for the Spartans ſcarce governed ten years; but we held the ſupremacy ſixty-five years. Certainly all know, that cities, ſubject to others, continue longeſt faithful to thoſe from whom they ſuffer the leaſt evils: but both, upon account of injuries becoming odious, fell into wars and tumults; yet we ſhall find our city was capable of making reſiſtance ten

years, though attacked by all the Greeks and Barbarians: whereas the Lacedæmonians, tho' they ſtill governed, and made war by land againſt the Thebans only, being conquered in one battle, were ſtripped of all they poſſeſſed, and were afflicted with the ſame misfortunes and calamities as we. Beſides, we ſhall find our city to have reſtored itſelf in fewer years than it was overthrown in; but that the Spartans, after this loſs, in a very long time, have not been able to recover themſelves to their former footing, but are ſtill in the ſame low condition. Now, I ought to explain, how we both have behaved againſt the Barbarians; for this remains. Under our government, it was not permitted them to come with their foot-forces within the river Halys, or ſail in long ſhips to the coaſts within Phaſelis. But, under that of the Lacedæmonians, they not only gained the power of going and ſailing wherever they pleaſed, but became maſters of many of the Grecian cities. Wherefore, that city, which, with more bravery and courage, made a treaty with the Perſians, and was the cauſe of the moſt and greateſt calamities to the Barbarians, but of benefits to the Grecians; which, beſides, took all the maritime coaſt of Aſia, and many other provinces from the enemies, and gave them to its allies, hindering the former from committing injuries, and freeing the latter from indigence; and which has more magnanimouſly fought for itſelf, than that very city which is celebrated for ſuch actions, and repelled its own calamities ſooner than thoſe perſons; who is there that will not think it juſt to praiſe and honour this city, more than that which it has ſurpaſſed in all theſe regards? Concerning the actions of both, and the dangers undergone together againſt the ſame enemies, this is what occurred to me to ſay at preſent.

Now, I think thoſe who have heard with diſguſt what I have ſaid, will not contradict any thing as if it was untrue; nor produce any other actions, by the performance of which the Lacedæmonians became authors of much good

good to Greece. But ſuch endeavour to accuſe our city, according to their cuſtom, and repeat the harſheſt acts of power, which happened during our ſovereignty of the ſeas: they will blame the accuſations and judgments, which happened here to the allies, as well as the exactions of tributes, and will particularly dwell on the calamities of the Melii, and the Scionæans, thinking, by theſe aſperſions, they can give a blot to thoſe benefits riſen from our city, which I juſt now mentioned. To whatever may be juſtly charged againſt our city, I neither can anſwer, nor would I attempt it; for I ſhould bluſh, if, when others have thought, that not even the gods are free from faults, I ſhould endeavour to perſuade mankind, that our republic never offended in any thing. But I believe I can effect this, that I can both prove, that Sparta, in reſpect of what was mentioned, has done things of a much more cruel and barbarous nature, and that they, who abuſe us on this account, are ſuperlatively fooliſh, and the very cauſe why their friends are reproached by us: for ſince they accuſe us of thoſe crimes which the Lacedæmonians have been more guilty of, we are not deprived of an occaſion of retorting upon them, and that too in a ſeverer manner. For example, ſhould they here make mention of the judgments paſſed upon allies, who is ſo ſtupid, but that he can find out a ready anſwer, viz. that the Lacedæmonians have put to death more Grecians, without giving them a fair hearing, than, ever ſince this city was built, have been called by us before the tribunal? The ſame, ſhould they make the like objections, we have to anſwer about the exaction of tributes; for we ſhall ſhew, that we benefited, in a far greater manner, thoſe cities who paid us tributes, than did the Lacedæmonians. In the firſt place, they did not do this by our command, but by their own decree, when they conferred the ſovereignty of the ſeas upon us. Again, they paid not thoſe tributes on account of our ſafety, but for their own republican government and liberty, and leſt they ſhould fall again into as great calamities as they had ſuffered under the decemviri and the Lacedæmo-

nian power. Beſides, they conferred nothing of what they had ſaved themſelves, but what they had preſerved by our aſſiſtance: for which, had they the leaſt reaſon in them, they would have repaid us with gratitude; for when we had recovered their cities, ſome of them razed by the Barbarians, and others of them laid waſte, we ſo reſtored them, that, having given to us a little of their ſubſtance, they had no worſe habitations than the Peloponneſians, who paid no tributes. In reſpect of thoſe who were deſtroyed under both our governments (which ſome object to us alone), we will ſhew, that thoſe, whom theſe men never ceaſe to praiſe, perpetrated far greater cruelties. It happened, that we injured ſuch, and ſo ſmall iſlands, as many of the Greeks know nothing of: they, after having overthrown the greateſt cities of Peloponneſus, which far excelled amongſt all the Grecian; I ſay, after they had eraſed them, poſſeſs their goods: which cities, tho' no benefit had before been conferred by them on Greece, were deſerving of the higheſt favours from the Greeks, for undertaking the expedition againſt Troy; in which they were the chief, and furniſhed leaders, not only poſſeſſed of ſuch qualities, of which ordinary and vulgar men are incapable, but of ſuch as none but the good and brave can attain. Meſſena ſent out Neſtor, who was the prudenteſt of all who lived in that age. Lacedæmon ſent Menelaus, who alone, for his temperance and moderation, deſerved to be made and called the ſon-in-law of Jupiter. The city of Argos ſent them Agamemnon, who was not ornamented with one or two virtues, but with all that any one can mention: nor ſo, in a moderate, but high degree; for we ſhall find no one of all, who undertook things which were more proper, more glorious, more noble, more beneficial to the Greeks, or worthy of greater praiſe. And, perhaps, while I haſtily enumerate theſe things, many may not give their aſſent to them: but, after I have ſpoken briefly of each, all will acknowledge I have ſaid nothing but truth.

But

BUT I cannot well conceive, but am at a loss, what words I shall most properly use; for I am ashamed, after I have said so much of Agamemnon's virtues, I should say nothing of his actions; but should appear to the hearers, like those who boast of themselves, and deafen company with what comes uppermost in their minds; for I perceive, that those actions, which are mentioned foreign to the subject, are not praised, but seem of a confused nature, and that there are many who use them unseasonably, and more who reprehend them. Wherefore I am afraid lest the same should happen to me. But I think I ought to assist him, who has suffered what I and many others have, in being deprived of that full glory which he deserved; he who was the author of the greatest happiness in those times, but is now praised, less than those who have done nothing memorable. For what was wanting to him? Who acquired such honour, greater than which, should all seek after it, they could never find it? for he alone was judged worthy of being the general of Greece. Whether he was chosen, or acquired this by power, I cannot aver. By whichsoever means this happened, he left nothing whereby they could exceed his glory, who have in any other way been honoured: for having attained this power, he injured none of the cities of Greece, but was so far from this, that he freed some from those wars, tumults, and troubles, in which they were involved, and, uniting all, he formed extravagant and romantic actions, and such as no ways benefit others, and, collecting an army, led it against the Barbarians. No one ever undertook a more glorious or useful expedition for the Greeks, either of those who were famous in those times, or were born afterwards: which he having done, and set the example to others, has not been so praised as he deserved, by the means of those who more love prodigies than beneficent actions, and lies than truth. And yet great as he was, he hath now less glory than those who never had the courage to imitate him. Nor need I only praise him for these things, but for those which he did about the

ſame time; for he ſo excelled in magnanimity, that it did not ſuffice him to raiſe ſoldiers of a private condition, in number as many as he pleaſed, out of each city; but he perſuaded thoſe very kings, who are wont, in their own cities, to do and command what they pleaſe, to be ſubject to him, follow him againſt whomſoever he would lead them, obey his commands, paſs their lives, tho' kings, in a military manner, beſides, face dangers, and carry on wars, not for their own countries and kingdoms, but, in word, for Helen the wife of Menelaus; yet, in fact, that Grecians ſhould not ſuffer the ſame, or the like, from the Barbarians, as when Pelops ſeized Peloponneſus, Danaus Argos, and Cadmus Thebes. Of which who can be found to have had a foreſight, and to have oppoſed himſelf, that nothing of this nature might happen? None but he who was endowed with ſuch knowledge and power. What now follows, is indeed of an inferior nature to what has been ſaid, but far more noble and worthy of memory than what is often praiſed. When ſuch forces were got together from all the cities, and ſo numerous, as may be ſuppoſed by ſuch leaders, as were partly of the family of the gods, partly begotten by, or born of them, not affected as the vulgar are, nor thinking in their train, but replete with wrath, violence, envy, and ambition; he yet retained all theſe together for ten years, not by large pay or expences in money, by which all are now powerful, but by excelling in prudence, by ſupplying the ſoldiers with proviſions from the enemy's country, and by appearing to conſult more wiſely the ſafety of others, than others do their own. Now, we may, with equal juſtice, admire the and he put to all theſe actions: for he will be found not to have put a diſhonourable one, and unworthy of what has been ſaid before; but tho' in declaration he had only made war againſt one city, yet, in fact, he made it not only againſt all thoſe who inhabited Aſia, but againſt many other barbarous nations. He was wearied out by no dangers; nor did he depart, till he had reduced to ſlavery that city which had dared to offend,

and

and till he had reſtrained the Barbarians from committing inſults.

I AM not ignorant of the variety of thoſe things ſaid of Agamemnon's virtues; nor, though they be ſo many, will any, if they conſider them ſingly, diſapprove of any thing, or dare to detract any thing; but, had they been explained in order, all would blame me, as having ſpoken more than was convenient. Had I been ignorant I ſhould exceed moderation, I ſhould bluſh, if, having attempted to write about theſe things which no one elſe dared, I were ſo ſtupid. Now, I knew far better than thoſe who have dared to reprehend me, that many would find fault with ſuch a method: but I thought it would be leſs offenſive, if I ſeem, in this part, to ſome to neglect the order of time, than if, while I ſpoke of ſo great a man, I omitted any of thoſe excellencies which belonged to him, and it was proper I ſhould mention: yet I judged, that, amongſt the politeſt hearers, I ſhould be eſteemed, if, while I make the elogium of virtue, I more laboured about ſpeaking worthily of it, than about the exact meaſure of my diſcourſe. I knew this well, that, by neglecting the juſt meaſure of time, I ſhould render myſelf leſs admired; yet that prudent advice about actions would profit thoſe who are praiſed: I therefore, neglecting my intereſt, preferred what was juſt; nor ſhall I be found only in what has been now ſaid of this mind, but abſolutely in all things: for I ſhall appear always to have taken more pleaſure in thoſe diſciples of mine, who were famous for their lives and actions, than in thoſe who had a genius for eloquence; for, indeed, contributing what I did, all would aſcribe to me their eloquence; but, in regard of their good actions, tho' all knew I had been the counſellor, there is none but would praiſe the perſon who put ſuch things in practice.

I SCARCE know whither I am hurried in my diſcourſe; for though I ought to ſubjoin the conſequence of what had been ſaid, yet I have wandered far from my ſubject. Nothing remains, but that, deſiring pardon for my old age, for

my forgetfulneſs and loquacity, which faults are incident to men of my years, I ſhould return to that ſubject from whence I wandered into this garrulity; I ſay, I ought to conſider from whence I digreſſed: for I anſwered thoſe, who object to us the calamities of the Melii, and ſuch ſmall towns; not that theſe actions were juſt, but that I might ſhew them, how thoſe, who are loved by them, have deſtroyed greater and more cities than we; amidſt which, I diſcourſed of the ſovereignty of Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Neſtor; not advancing falſities, but ſpeaking, perhaps, beyond moderation. This I did to ſhew, that theſe mens crime was no leſs, who dared to overthrow thoſe cities, which had produced and educated thoſe men, of whom even now one may compoſe celebrated harangues. But, perhaps, it is fooliſh to dwell upon one fact, as if there could be wanting words to expreſs the cruelty and barbarity of the Lacedæmonians; and that there was not a variety of inſtances to mention on this topic: whom it did not ſuffice to have treſpaſſed againſt theſe cities, and theſe men, but they would injure thoſe who were born in the ſame place, who warred in alliance with them, and underwent the ſame dangers; I mean, the Argives and Meſſenians: for they endeavoured to afflict them with the ſame calamities as the others; and indeed they deſiſted not to attack the Meſſenians, till they drove them out of the country; but the Argives, upon this account, are now in war. Now, I ſhould be ridiculous, if, having mentioned what they have done againſt others, I ſhould not mention what they have acted againſt the Plateæans; who having pitched their tents with us, and other allies, in their territory, and we having drawn up our battle, and ſacrificed to the gods conſecrated by them, we not only freed the Greeks, who were with us, but even thoſe who were forced to be on their ſide. And we effected this, when we had the Platæans alone our aſſiſtants, of all the Bœotians; and not long after, the Lacedæmonians, to gratify the Thebans, after taking their city, ſlew them all, excepting ſuch as could fly away. Certainly, our city did

not

not reſemble the Lacedæmonians in regard of this. They dared to do ſuch things againſt the public benefactors of Greece, and their own relations; but our countrymen placed thoſe Meſſenians, who were ſaved at Naupactum, and made thoſe Platæans, who came to them, citizens, and partakers of all they poſſeſſed themſelves. Wherefore, had we no more to ſay of theſe cities, yet, methinks, the manners of both would be clear, and which of us had ruined more and greater cities.

I PERCEIVE I am fallen into an affection different from what I had in mentioning ſome things a little while ago; for I then lapſed into ignorance and forgetfulneſs. Now, I am ſenſible I preſerve not that lenity of diſcourſe, which I obſerved in the beginning; but that I endeavour to explain myſelf on thoſe heads, which I ſhould not mention; that I become bolder than fits my nature, and am not capable of containing myſelf in ſome things, on account of the variety of the ſubjects which preſent themſelves to me to be ſpoken of. Since then a ſpirit of freedom has ſeized me, and I have opened my mouth with liberty, and have laid ſuch a foundation, and it is neither becoming nor poſſible to paſs over ſuch actions, by which it may be demonſtrated, that our city has deſerved better of the Greeks than the Lacedæmonians, I muſt not paſs by thoſe other evil actions, which have not hitherto been ſpoken of, though they were perpetrated amidſt the Greeks: but I ſhall ſhew, that our countrymen learned late ſuch practices, and that the Lacedæmonians were guilty of ſome the firſt, and committed others only. Very many accuſe both cities, that, profeſſing to fight againſt the Barbarians for Greece, they did not permit the cities to live by their own laws, and adminiſter their affairs, as was convenient for them; but dividing them, as if having taken them all by war, they oppreſſed them all with ſervitude, and acted like thoſe, who ſet other mens ſlaves at liberty, to make them ſerve themſelves. We were not the cauſe that theſe and many ſharper things were ſaid, but thoſe who now oppoſe us in what is ſaid, and, in former

former times, derogated from all our actions. But no one can prove, that our anceſtors, during infinite ſpaces of time, ever attempted to ſubject either a greater or leſs city; but all know, that, ſince the Lacedæmonians came into Peloponneſus, they do nothing, nor deſign any thing elſe, than to govern as much as poſſible all; or, at leaſt, if this cannot be effected, govern the Peloponneſians. Beſides, all know, that they have been the authors of ſeditions, maſſacres, and changes of commonwealths, with which calamities and diſorders they filled all cities excepting a few: but no one would dare to ſay, that, before the calamity at the Helleſpont, our city ever committed a crime againſt their allies. After the Lacedæmonians became lords of Greece, they again loſt the lead in power. In thoſe times, the other cities being ſeditious, two or three of our generals (I will not conceal the truth) treſpaſſed againſt ſome of them; hoping, did they imitate the Spartans actions, they ſhould more eaſily contain them within the bounds of duty. Wherefore, all of us may juſtly accuſe them, as being the leaders and authors of ſuch works, and allow pardon to our countrymen, as ſcholars deceived by promiſes, and falling ſhort of their hopes. Now, who is ignorant of what they did alone? for tho' our enmity to the Barbarians and their kings was common, yet we were in many battles alone, ſuſtained ſometimes great loſſes, our lands every now and then waſted, and yet we never regarded their friendſhip and alliance; but, for their ill deſigns againſt the Greeks, we continued to hate them more than thoſe who now endeavour to diſtreſs us. But the Lacedæmonians, tho' they had not ſuffered, or were likely to ſuffer any hurt, or were in any fear, came to that pitch of inſatiable avarice, that it ſufficed them not to have the land-government, but they would have the dominion of ſea alſo, ſo that, at the ſame time, they puſhed on our allies to a revolt, promiſing to make them free, and negotiated friendſhip and alliance with the king; affirming, that they would deliver to him all the inhabitants of Aſia. When they had mutually pledged their faith on theſe terms,

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and conquered us, they reduced those whom they promised to enfranchize, to a worse state of servitude than their own slaves; and they requited the king with this gratitude, that they persuaded his younger brother Cyrus to dispute with him for the kingdom; and gathering an army, and making Clearchus general, sent them against him. But being deceived of their hopes in this, and having shewed to all what they aimed at, they were hated of all, and fell into such wars and tumults, as it was necessary those must, who had trespassed both against the Greeks and Barbarians. Now, I know not why I should say any more about them, but only this, that, being conquered in a sea-fight by the forces of the king, and dexterity of Conon, they made that peace, than which none can shew me a more base, more disgraceful, or regardless of the interests of Greece, or more contrary to what is said by some of the valour of the Lacedæmonians; who, tho' the king had made them lords of Greece, endeavoured to deprive him of his kingdom, and all his fortunes; but after he had conquered in a sea-fight, and humbled them, did not surrender to him a small part, but, mentioning expressly in writing, all who inhabited Asia, and surrendering them to be used at his discretion: nor did they blush to make such a treaty about those very men, by whose alliance they had defeated us, were become masters of Greece; and hoped to seize upon all Asia. Such a treaty as this did they fix in their temples, and force their allies to do so!

And tho' I judge others will not much desire to hear the remaining things, I believe that all think, they have been sufficiently informed of what a disposition each city has been towards the Greeks. I am not of the same opinion, but think the hypothesis, which I have chosen, requires many more words; especially such as will demonstrate the madness of those men, who have attempted to oppose what has been said; whose confutation I shall easily find; for, amongst those who approve the Lacedæmonians actions, I judge the best and prudentest of them will praise indeed the Spartan republic, and continue to be of the same opinion about

about it as before; but will assent to me concerning those things, which they have done against the Greeks; but as for such, who, not only inferior to those, but the vulgar, can speak tolerably of no subject, and yet cannot be silent about the Lacedæmonians, hoping, that, if they make exaggerated elogiums of them, they shall acquire the same glory as those who are far superior and more excellent than they: when such see, that all arguments have been handled, and they have not what to answer to one of them, they will turn themselves, I judge, to a dissertation about what the republic is, and, comparing their institutes with ours, their obedience and temperance with the negligence which prevails amongst us, they, on this account, will extol Sparta; which, if they do, prudent men should think they trifle; for my purpose was not to dispute about the forms of republics, but to shew, that our city has deserved better of Greece than that of the Lacedæmonians. Now, if they refute some of these things, or can say that others were common, in which they had the superiority, they will deserve just praise: but should they speak of what I have made no mention, they will deserve to be looked on as fools by all: yet since I judge, they will produce the arguments for the forms of the two republics, I shall have no difficulty to handle that topic.

LET no one, tho', imagine, that I have said this of that form of a republic, which we have by force received for the old one, but of that of our ancestors, which our citizens not contemning, hastily seized on this; and tho' they judged the other far more excellent in other things, yet thought this more adapted to the sovereignty at sea; by the attainment of which power and wise administration, they might revenge the treachery of the Spartans, and conquer all the strength of the Lacedæmonians, which at that time particularly pressed our city: wherefore no one can justly accuse those who chose it, for they were not frustrated of their hopes, nor were they ignorant of the bad or good, which was in either power; but they sufficiently knew, that a land-

land-power consisted in good order, moderation, obedience, and things of a like nature; but that a maritime power was not encreased by those means, but by naval arts, by those who could manage oars, who had lost their own possessions, and were accustomed to live upon others. Now, it was not hid from them, that when such should flow into the city, both the former discipline must be dissolved, and the affections of allies would be soon changed, when those, to whom before they gave lands and cities, would be obliged to pay those taxes and tributes, which I mentioned lately. But tho' they were ignorant of nothing said by me, they thought it proper, for a city of such greatness, and which had acquired such glory, rather to suffer all difficulties than the empire of the Lacedæmonians. And tho' two things were proposed to them, which were not good, they thought this option preferable, to cause others to suffer rather than themselves; and rather to reign over others unjustly, than, avoiding a fault, serve the Lacedæmonians unjustly: which all prudent persons would certainly chuse and wish; but some few, who profess themselves wise, were they asked, would say the contrary. Now, the causes why they chose that form of government, which is reprehended by some, instead of that which is praised by all, were those I have mentioned.

I WILL now speak of those things I proposed, and of our ancestors, beginning from those times, when there was no mention of the word democracy, or oligarchy, but all the Grecian as well as the Barbarian cities were governed by monarchies. For this reason, I chuse to begin my discourse from a greater distance. In the first place, judging it becomes those who dispute about precedence in virtue, that they should, from their origin, excel others; secondly, because I should be ashamed, if, after having discoursed more than was necessary about persons excellent indeed, but not related to me, I should make no mention of our progenitors, who kept our republic in the most beautiful order, and so far excelled those who are now in power, as far as the most

moſt mild and prudent men excel the moſt ſavage and cruel beaſts. For what is there of atrocity in impiety and crimes, which we ſhall not find in other cities, and eſpecially in thoſe cities which then were the greateſt, and are now eſteemed ſo? Shall we not find various murders of brothers, fathers, and gueſts, committed in them? Shall we not find aſſaſſinations of mothers, inceſtuous beds, and children born by them who bore their fathers? Shall we not find the devouring of children plotted by the neareſt related? Shall we not find the expoſition of thoſe they had begotten, the drowning of them, the blinding of them, and ſo many crimes, that none of thoſe who are accuſtomed to ſhew, on the theatre, the calamities that then happened, ever wanted matter? I have related theſe things, not with an intention to reproach them, but to ſhew, that not only nothing of this nature has been done by ours (for this would be no proof of virtue, but of this only, that our countrymen were different in their natures from the moſt flagitious); but it becomes thoſe, I ſay, who diſtinguiſhedly praiſe others, not only to prove, that they are not wicked, but that they have exceeded, in all virtues, both thoſe that have been, and thoſe who now are; which any one may affirm of our anceſtors: for they ſo religiouſly and honourably managed both the public and their private affairs, as was worthy of ſuch who were firſt begotten by the gods, built a city, uſed laws, and, in all times, obſerved piety towards the gods, and juſtice towards men. They were neither mixed with others, nor were aliens, but alone of all the Greeks native primæval inhabitants; who had the ſoil for their nurſe, out of which they were born, and loved it in ſuch a manner as the beſt do their fathers and mothers; who, beſides, were ſo dear to the gods, that what ſeems very difficult and rare, viz. to find any of royal and monarchical families, who continue four or five centuries, that even this happened to them; for Erichthonius, born of Vulcan and the Earth, received both the palace and kingdom from Cecrops, who had no children: all who were born from him, having received

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the reins of government, who were not a few in number, left their poſſeſſions and empires down to Theſeus; of whoſe virtue and actions I wiſh I had not diſcourſed before; for it would be a much more proper place to ſpeak of them in this oration, of which our city is the topic. But it was difficult, or rather impoſſible, that what occurred to me then, ſhould have been reſerved to this time, or that I ſhould then foreſee this occaſion. Let me therefore omit thoſe things, ſince I have uſed them on an improper occaſion. I will only make mention of one action, which has happened neither to have been mentioned before, nor done by any other than Theſeus, and was the greateſt proof of his valour and prudence; for having a moſt ſecure and large kingdom, in which he had done many and noble things, both in war and the public adminiſtration, he deſpiſed all this; and rather choſe that glory which ariſes from labours and conflicts, which would be celebrated in all futurity, than inactivity, and that felicity which was in his power, on account of his kingdom. And he did this, not after he was become old, had enjoyed them, or was ſatiated with his preſent goods; but, whilſt he was in vigour, he left the city to be governed by the people; and he himſelf never ceaſed to face dangers both for it and the reſt of Greece. And I have here, as far as it was permitted me, made mention of the virtue of Theſeus; and I made mention before, and not negligently, of all his virtues. But of thoſe perſons merits, who undertook the adminiſtration of that city, which he gave them, I know not what I can ſay that is ſufficiently worthy; who, tho' they were ignorant of the forms of republics, yet erred not in their choice, but choſe that republic, which is acknowledged by all not only the moſt humane and equitable, but the moſt beneficial and pleaſant to all that uſe it; for they conſtituted ſuch a democracy, as did not adminiſter things raſhly, or think inſolence liberty; the licence of doing as each pleaſes, happineſs; but which reprehended thoſe things, and was managed by an ariſtocracy: which form, tho' it is uſeful, the vulgar rank with that which conſiſts

fists in the valuation of estates; not that they err by stupidity, but because they never consider things of this nature. I say, the forms of republics are threefold only; an oligarchy, a democracy, and a monarchy. They who live under these forms, and chuse those for magistrates, who are the most proper for all other offices, and will administer the public affairs in the most just and best manner; I say, those in each republic order their lives most wisely in respect of themselves and others; but that they, who make use of the most rash and wicked citizens in these offices, such who regard not what is profitable to the city, but are ready to submit to any thing for satiating their avarice, who would have their cities filled with inhabitants who resemble the magistrates in improbity: I judge those, on the contrary, to be the worst consultors for their own and the people's good. But as for such, who neither act thus, nor as I said before, but while they are in safety, honour those most who flatter them; and, as soon as they begin to fear, have recourse to the best and most prudent; these, I judge, will, by turns, manage their affairs sometimes better, and sometimes worse. Such, therefore, is the nature of republics and commonwealths.

I BELIEVE these topics will furnish to others more words than have been spoken; but I ought not to dispute any longer about them, but of the republic only of our ancestors: for I have promised to demonstrate this of more value, and to have been the cause of more goods, than that constituted in Sparta. Now, my discourse to those who willingly hear me reasoning about a wise republic, will neither be troublesome, nor out of season, but connected with what I have said before; but to those who love not these things, tho' spoken with great care, but are chiefly pleased with such who abuse others in public assemblies, or, if they abstain from such frenzy, praise the most vile things, or the worst of all men who ever lived, I doubt not but this oration will seem longer than it ought to be. But I never esteemed such hearers, nor do others who are prudent; but those

those who will remember what I have now said, more than any part of the oration, nor will blame the prolixity of the discourse, though it should contain ten thousand lines; but will think it is in their own power to read and look over what part of it they please; yet I esteem those the most, who hear nothing more willingly than an oration which commemorates mens virtues, and the manners of well constituted commonwealths; which would some men, and could they imitate, they would both possess their lives in great glory, and would make their cities happy. I have shewn what sort of hearers desire of my oration; but I am afraid, if such are present, lest I should seem to express myself in a far meaner manner than those things require which I am going to speak of.

THEREFORE, that our city, in those times, was better governed than others, we may justly attribute to those kings whom I lately mentioned. It was they who instructed the people in virtue, justice, and great moderation, and taught them, by their own administration, what I am going to mention, after they had shewed it by example, that the form of every commonwealth is, as it were, the soul, which has the same power as prudence in the body; for it is the administration which must deliberate about every thing, preserve prosperity, and avoid adversity, and be the effective cause of the good which happens to cities, which the people, upon the change, did not forget; but took more care of this than other things to chuse leaders, who desired a popular state, and were endowed with such manners as they were, who governed them before; nor did they negligently chuse such as no one would trust any thing of his private affairs to; nor permit those, who were evidently bad, to have any share in the government, nor so much as bear their voice, who disgraced their own bodies, and yet pretended to advise others how they should govern the state, how they should become prudent, and manage affairs better. They would not suffer this; nor would they bear the voice of those who had spent their paternal substance in in-

famous pleaſures, and ſought to ſeek, in the public monies, a remedy for their private poverty; nor their voice neither, who always ſeek to flatter, and, by ſo doing, throw thoſe who liſten into trouble and calamities. All will judge, that ſuch men as theſe ſhould be removed from all public counſels; and, beſides thoſe, ſuch as ſay all private poſſeſſions belong to the city, and yet are not afraid to plunder thoſe, which are its right, and who pretend to love the people, but render them odious to all; who, in words, fear for the Greeks, but, in fact, injuring and calumniating them in ſuch a manner, that they make others ſo affected towards us, that ſuch cities as are beſieged would ſooner admit the beſiegers into their walls than our garriſons. A perſon muſt be worn out with writing, ſhould he attempt to expoſe all their crimes and villainy: which crimes being deteſted by our fathers, equally with ſuch as were guilty of them, they did not make any counſellors and magiſtrates, but the moſt prudent, the beſt, and who had lived the moſt innocent lives. The ſame they made generals, and ſent as embaſſadors on occaſions, and committed all the magiſtracies to them; thinking, that thoſe, who, in a public ſpeech, both would and could give the beſt advice, that they alone, and in all places, and about all buſineſs, would retain the ſame ſentiments; which indeed happened. By means of this prudent judgment, they ſaw, in a few days, written laws, not of ſuch a nature as the preſent, nor full of ſuch confuſion and contradictions, that thoſe in force ſignify no more than thoſe that were annulled; but at firſt few, which yet would ſuffice thoſe who were to uſe them, and were eaſy to be underſtood; then, ſuch as were juſt, uſeful, and conſiſtent with one another, and tending more to promote a good public œconomy, than even private commerce; ſuch as the laws ought to be amongſt thoſe who live in a well-regulated commonwealth. About the ſame time, they inveſted with magiſtracies, thoſe who were choſen by the companies and citizens; not making thoſe magiſtracies ſubjects of ambition, or worthy of deſire, but more like

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thoſe offices which give trouble, but reflect honour on the employed; for it became thoſe who were choſen to govern, to neglect their private affairs, and to abſtain as much from thoſe fines, which are uſually given to the magiſtracy, as religiouſly as from the donations to temples. (But who would ſuffer this cuſtom now?) Such who diligently executed their offices, after a moderate encomium, they deſtined to another employment; but thoſe who had the leaſt failed, incurred the greateſt diſgraces and penalties: ſo that none of the citizens, as now, deſired magiſtracies; but it was more agreeable to avoid than obtain them; and all thought there could not be a more equitable republic, and more beneficial for the people, than that which gave them an immunity from ſuch functions, but made them maſters of electing magiſtrates, and taking puniſhment of the delinquent; which happens likewiſe under the happieſt kings. This is an evident ſign, that they loved what I ſay is beſt; for it is certain, that the people oppoſed the other forms of a republic, which diſpleaſe, overturned them, and ſlew the governors; but made uſe of this no leſs than a thouſand years, and continued in it from the time when it began down to the age of Solon, and regency of Piſiſtratus; who being made a governor of the people, much prejudiced the republic, and caſt out the beſt citizens, as lovers of an oligarchy, and at laſt diſſolved the popular ſtate, and made himſelf monarch.

PERHAPS ſome will ſay, that I ſpeak abſurdly (for this oration may be ſpoken againſt), becauſe I dare expreſs myſelf as if perfectly acquainted with thoſe affairs I was not preſent at when they were tranſacted. Now, I judge, I do nothing of this raſhly; for if I alone believed what is ſaid of the antients, and thoſe writings which have been handed down to us, I might be juſtly blamed. But it is evident, that many and prudent men do the ſame. Beſides, if I was called upon to give proofs, I could do it, that all men acquire more ſciences by hearing than ſeeing; yet we ought not to neglect ſuch reprehenſions (for, perhaps, if no one

anſwered, they might prejudice truth), nor yet dwell too long on refuting them; but, after having hinted reaſons whereby ſuch may be proved to trifle, to return from the digreſſion to our ſubject, and finiſh what remains; which I ſhall do.

It is already ſhewn ſufficiently, what was the order of the republic which then was, and the time which we uſed it; it remains, that we recite the actions which aroſe from a well-regulated republic. By theſe it will be clearer underſtood, that our anceſtors had a better and more moderate government than others; and that they made uſe of ſuch counſellors, as it becomes prudent men. But before I explain myſelf on theſe heads, I muſt ſpeak a few prefatory words to theſe critics; for if, neglecting their reprehenſions, who can do nothing elſe but find fault, I ſhould relate in order both their other actions, and the military conduct, by the means of which our anceſtors conquered the Barbarians, and became famous among the Greeks; it muſt happen, that ſome will ſay, that I recite the laws which Lycurgus made, and the Spartans uſe. I indeed confeſs, that I ſhall mention many things which are received amongſt them; not that Lycurgus invented, or firſt thought of them, but that he imitated the government of our anceſtors in the beſt manner which he could, and conſtituted amongſt them a democracy, tempered with an ariſtocracy, ſuch as was amongſt us; made the magiſtrates be elected not by lots, but votes, and rendered as ſacred by law the election of thoſe elders who preſide over all things, as it is ſaid our anceſtors did in the election of thoſe who were choſen into the Areopagus: beſides, he gave them the ſame authority which he knew our ſenate had. That therefore he regulated their affairs as ours were formerly, it is eaſy for thoſe who are deſirous, to be informed by many. But that the Spartans neither exerciſed the arts of war before, nor better than our countrymen, I judge I ſhall make ſo manifeſt by thoſe conflicts and battles, which, it is confeſſed, happened at that time, that not even they, who are fooliſhly partiſans

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of the Lacedæmonians ſhall be able to contradict my words, nor thoſe either who admire, envy, and endeavour to imitate us.

I SHALL make an exordium of what I am going to ſay, perhaps unpleaſant to ſome in the hearing, but not uſeleſs in the narration; for if any one ſay, that theſe two cities have been authors of great good to the Grecians, and of the greateſt calamities after the expedition of Xerxes, he muſt appear to ſpeak the truth to all thoſe who know any thing of the actions of thoſe times; for they fought bravely againſt his power; and, when they had done this, and it became them to have conſulted wiſely about what remained, they fell, I do not ſay, into that folly, but madneſs, that, with him who had attacked, and deſigned to have entirely deſtroyed both theſe cities, and oppreſſed the other Greeks with ſlavery; with ſuch a one, I ſay, whom they might eaſily have conquered both by ſea and land, they made a perpetual peace, as with one who had been a benefactor; and envying one another's virtues, and falling into mutual war and emulation, they ceaſed not deſtroying themſelves, and other Grecians, till they had given the greateſt opportunity to the enemy of reducing our city to the extremeſt danger by their power, and again of reducing theirs by the power of us. And when they had been ſo far ſurpaſſed in prudence by a barbarous king, they neither grieved then in a becoming manner the calamities they ſuffered, nor as was worthy of themſelves; nor does it now ſhame ſome of the Grecian cities to flatter for his wealth. For the Argives and Thebans helped him to conquer Egypt; we, and the Lacedæmonians, though there is an alliance betwixt us, are more hoſtilely inclined towards one another, than againſt thoſe we fight with. Of which this is no ſmall proof: for we conſult in common about no one thing; but we ſeparately both of us ſend embaſſadors to him, hoping, that whichſoever city he favours, will render itſelf maſter of Greece; not obſerving, that he is wont to inſult thoſe who ſerve him, but endeavours, by all methods, to

end contentions with ſuch as oppoſe and contemn his power.

I HAVE related theſe things, not ignorant that ſome will be bold enough to ſay, that I have uſed diſcourſe foreign to my ſubject. But I think, that no diſcourſes were ever ſpoke, that could agree better than thoſe with what went before, or by which any one can better ſhew that our anceſtors were prudenter than they in things of the greateſt moment; I mean, thoſe who governed our city, as well as thoſe who governed the Spartan city after the war with Xerxes; for it is certain, that they, in thoſe times, made peace with the Barbarians, and ruined themſelves and other cities, and now would command the other Greeks, and ſend embaſſadors to contract friendſhip, and make an alliance with the Perſians. But they who before held our city, did nothing of this nature, but quite the contrary; for they as reſolutely abſtained from Grecian cities, as religious perſons from the conſecrated gifts in temples; and they thought that the moſt juſt and neceſſary war, which by all mankind was carried on againſt the ſavageneſs of wild beaſts: the next to this, that which was by all the Grecians againſt the Barbarians, who were both enemies by nature, and in all times ill-intentioned to us. I have not made this oration out of my own invention, but from my reaſoning upon their actions; for ſeeing other cities entangled in many diſtreſſes and wars, and their own only well governed, they judged it neither became them, who were wiſer, and managed their republic better than others, either to diſregard, or let thoſe cities which were of conſanguinity with them periſh: but that they ought to conſider how, and endeavour to free them from their preſent evils. Having thus thought, they tried, by embaſſies and arguments, to put an end to the diſſenſions of thoſe cities, which were leſs diſordered; but to thoſe who laboured more under ſeditions, they ſent thoſe of the greateſt authority among their citizens, who gave them counſel about ſuch things as were then in agitation, and converſing with thoſe, who, on account of poverty, could not

not live in their own country, and were by nature worſe diſpoſed than was convenient for the laws (ſuch uſually ruin cities); ſuch, I ſay, they perſuaded to make war along with them, and ſeek a better life than that which they then led. There being many who choſe theſe terms, and obeyed their counſels, compoſing armies of them, they, after their having overthrown and driven out all thoſe Barbarians, who held the iſlands, and who inhabited both the ſhores of the continent, placed thoſe of the Greeks there who were in the greateſt indigence. And they never ceaſed to act, and ſhew this to others, until they heard, that the Spartans had ſubjected to themſelves the Peloponneſian cities. Afterwards, they were forced to turn their minds to their own affairs. What good then came from that war carried on about the colonies and ſeizure of lands? (for, I judge, moſt will be deſirous of hearing this.) I anſwer, that the Greeks became richer in all the neceſſaries of life, and were more at concord, by being freed from ſuch and ſo many men, that the Barbarians were driven out of their country, and became more ſubmiſſive than before; and that thoſe who were the authors of theſe things, were made famous, and doubled the extent of Greece. Therefore I cannot find a greater benefit, or a more univerſal one done the Grecians. But, perhaps, we ſhall have to mention what will be more related to military knowledge, and tho' worthy of leſs honour, yet manifeſt to all: for who is ignorant, or who has not heard in the feaſt of Bacchus from the tragedians, what happened to Adraſtus among the Thebans? who endeavouring to reſtore the ſon of Œdipus, and his own ſon-in-law, loſt a great many of the Argives, but ſaw all his centurions ſlain; and he having ſhamefully ſaved himſelf, when he could not obtain an agreement, nor carry off the dead for burial, becoming a ſupplicant to our city, while Theſeus governed it, prayed that it would not ſuffer ſuch men to lie unburied, and an antient inſtitute and native cuſtom to be abrogated, which all men uſe, not as having been invented by mortal underſtanding, but as commanded by divine

power; which Theſeus having heard, and making no delay, he ſent embaſſadors to Thebes, who might perſuade them to take a more pious reſolution concerning the dead, and give a more equitable anſwer than the former; and might hint this, that our city would not permit them to infringe the common law of Greece: which they who then governed in Thebes having heard, they were not of that ſentiment which ſome are about thoſe things, nor perſiſted in what they firſt decreed; but when they had pleaded their cauſe with moderation, and accuſed the beſiegers, they gave the power to our city of taking away the dead bodies.

NOR let any one imagine, I am ignorant, that I now ſeem to ſpeak contrary to what I wrote in the panegyric concerning theſe things. But I think none of thoſe, who can underſtand them, will be ſo fooliſh, or full of envy, as not to praiſe me, and judge I acted prudently, that I ſpoke then in that manner, and now in this. I know I have wrote on theſe topics juſtly and profitably; but how much at that time our city excelled in warlike actions (for deſigning to demonſtrate this, I related what had happened at Thebes), I think that action evidently ſhews to all, which forced the Argive king to be ſuppliant to our city, and reduced the Theban lords to thoſe ſtraits, that they choſe rather to obey the meſſages ſent by our city than the law of a deity. Nothing of which could have been well performed, unleſs our city had far excelled the reſt in authority and power.

HAVING many and noble actions to mention of our anceſtors, I am doubtful in what method I ſhall treat of them; for I am more ſollicitous about that than any other thing. I am now come to the laſt part of the diſcourſe which I deſigned; in which I promiſed to prove, that our anceſtors excelled the Spartans in wars and battles. This oration will ſeem moſt incredible to the vulgar, but others will know it to be true. Juſt now I doubted, whether I ſhould firſt relate the conflicts and battles of the Spartans, or thoſe of our countrymen; but I now chuſe to relate

into the battles of the former, that I may finish this oration upon these two cities, by their more glorious and equitable actions. After that the Dorians, who had marched with an army into Peloponnesus, had divided the cities into three divisions, and had extorted the lands from such as had justly possessed them; they, who had for their lot Argos and Messena, administered their commonwealths almost in the same manner as the other Grecians. As for the third part, whom we call Lacedæmonians, those, who have thoroughly examined their history, say, that they were more seditious than any other of the Greeks; and when those, who had more elevated minds than the vulgar, were become masters, they took not such measures as are usually taken by those who have suffered by sedition; for they judged others, who allow those who have moved a sedition, to live in the city, and be partakers of all advantages excepting magistracies, very imprudent, if they imagine they can govern the commonwealth with security, while they inhabit with those whom they have trespassed against. They say, the Spartans did no such thing; but made an equality amongst themselves, and such a democracy, as it becomes those to make who would always live in concord; but that they placed the common people about them in the neighbourhood, oppressing their minds with slavery, no less than those of their servants. After they had done this, tho' it was just that all should have received an equal portion of land, they seized, tho' they were but a few, not only the best part, but so much as no others of the Greeks have; and they only divided the worst part amongst the multitude, that, cultivating it with a great deal of labour, they might scarce have daily food. Afterwards their numbers being divided, they made the vulgar and greatest part plant themselves in a very narrow compass, called by names like those who dwell in cities, but having less power than the commonest people amongst us. When they had thus deprived them of all which it is just freemen should enjoy, they imposed on them the greatest share of dangers; for in those expedi-

expeditions, when the king headed their army, they obliged them to ſtand man by man by themſelves; and ſome they choſe, who were to be placed before the firſt phalanx; and, if it was neceſſary to ſend ſuccour in labours and danger, and lighten the tediouſneſs of length of time, they would ſend theſe to run the hazards of others. Why need I ſay more, in enumerating all the contumelies done the multitude? rather, after mentioning the greateſt evil, let us omit the reſt; for it is permitted the ephori, without paſſing judgment, to ſlay as many as they will, of thoſe who, from the beginning, have ſuffered ſuch hardſhips, and on occaſion are ſo uſeful; tho' it is not thus permitted the other Greeks to kill the moſt profligate ſlaves.

I THEREFORE have ſpoke more at large of their manner of treating their domeſtics, and the faults committed againſt them, that I might aſk of thoſe admirers of all the Spartans actions, whether they approve of theſe, and the wars they have had with the inferior claſs? for I think they have been great, and cruel, and the cauſes of calamities to the conquered, but of profits to the victors; for the ſake of which they always continue fighting, but ſuch battles indeed as are neither religious, reputable, honourable, nor glorious, for thoſe who claim that excellence which conſiſts not in arts and many other things, but that which grows up in the mind with piety and juſtice, and about which is all this diſcourſe; which ſome deſpiſing, praiſe them, altho' they have committed more faults than others: nor do they obſerve, that they betray their own minds, and ſhew that they would praiſe thoſe who dared to kill their brothers, friends, and partners, if they might enjoy their poſſeſſions: for ſuch crimes are like thoſe which the Spartans have committed, which whoſoever approve of, muſt have the ſame ſentiment about what I have mentioned. I wonder there ſhould be any, who do not think that battles and victories, gained contrary to right, are more ſhameful, and diſgraced by infamy, than defeats received without cowardice; eſpecially ſince they

they know, that great but wicked armies are often ſuperior to good men, and thoſe who chuſe to run dangers for their country; whom we may with much more juſtice praiſe, than thoſe who are ready to die for acquiring others properties, and are like to mercenary troops; for theſe are the actions of deſperate men. But that good men ſometimes ſhould more unſucceſsfully make war than aggreſſors in injuries, ſome one perhaps will ſay, proceeds from the negligence of the gods. This argument I may uſe in regard of thoſe calamities which befel the Spartans at Thermopylæ, which all who have ever heard of, praiſe and admire more than thoſe battles which were gained over adverſaries, but were fought againſt thoſe they ought not to have been: which victories ſome take a pleaſure in praiſing, being ignorant that nothing is religious or honeſt, which is not ſaid and done with juſtice; which never was the care of the Spartans: for they have in view nothing elſe, but to ſeize on others properties as much as poſſible. But our citizens never laboured any thing with ſuch ardor, as to flouriſh with glory amongſt the Greeks; for they thought, that no ſentence could be more true or equitable than ſuch as was given by the whole nation. They ſhewed they were of this mind, both by their behaviour in the adminiſtration of the republic, and their other actions; for in all the three wars which happened betwixt the Greeks and Barbarians, beſides the Trojan, our city was the chief: one of which was that carried on againſt Xerxes, in which our citizens as far excelled the Lacedæmonians as they did all others; the other was that which happened at the time when the colonies were eſtabliſhed, and to which none of the Dorians came as ſuccours: but our city, becoming the leader of the indigent, and of as many others as would, changed affairs ſo, that it was the cauſe, tho' the Barbarians were accuſtomed to ſeize the greateſt Grecian cities, that the Greeks could do what they before had ſuffered. Of theſe two wars enough has been ſaid in the preceding oration; I will now make mention of the third, which was raiſed when the Grecian cities

cities were lately rebuilt, and ours yet obeyed the kings; during which period, both the dreadfulleſt wars and the greateſt dangers happened; all which I can neither imagine or explain. Omitting therefore the greateſt part of what was done at that time, but not neceſſary to be mentioned at preſent, I will, as briefly as I can, endeavour to ſpeak of thoſe who attacked our city, and thoſe battles which were worthy of remembrance; as likewiſe of our captains, the cauſes pretended, and the power of thoſe nations which followed them: for theſe things will ſuffice, beſides what we have ſaid of the adverſaries. The Thracians, indeed, with Eumolpus the ſon of Neptune, made an inroad upon our lands, and contended for the city with Erictheus, ſaying, that Neptune, before Minerva, had ſeized on it; and the Scythians, with the Amazons, who were ſaid to be begotten by Mars, undertook an expedition on account of Antiope, the ſiſter of Hippolita, who had both violated the laws that were ſacred amongſt them, and captivated with the love of Theſeus, had followed and been married to him: but the Peloponneſians doing the ſame with Euryſtheus, who had not ſuffered for thoſe injuries which he had done Hercules, and he undertaking a war againſt our anceſtors, as if he would take thence his children (for they had fled to us), ſuffered that which was due to his merits; for he was ſo far from performing what he had written in his letters, that he would bring the ſupplicants under his power, that, conquered in a battle, and taken by our men, he finiſhed his life, after he had begged it of thoſe whom he had demanded. After this, when thoſe ſent by Darius to ravage Greece, had made a deſcent at Marathon, and they were involved in more diſtreſſes and greater calamities than they hoped to have brought upon our city, they were all forced to fly out of Greece. Our anceſtors, therefore, when they had conquered all thoſe who did not invade them at the ſame time, but as opportunity, their utility, or counſels happened, and had repulſed their injuries, were not changed when they had done ſuch great things, nor ſuffered the ſame

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as thoſe, who, becauſe they had conſulted prudently, and had acquired great wealth and glory, being elated by ſuch grandeur, and blinded by pride, were deprived of reaſon, and reduced to a more humble and worſe ſtate than what they were in before. But avoiding this, they perſevered in their own inſtitutes, becauſe they had a better government; conceiving higher thoughts from the habit of their minds, and prudence, than from the paſt battles, and becauſe they would be more admired by others for this conſtancy and moderation, than that valour which they ſhewed amidſt labours and dangers; for they all perceived, that many of thoſe who exceed in wickedneſs, have warlike bravery; but that the bad are void of that virtue, which is uſeful in all things, and can benefit every one; and that it is inherent in them alone, who are happily born, educated, and inſtructed, which thoſe, who then governed the city, were poſſeſſed of, and thereby were the authors of all the felicity I have mentioned above.

I HAVE obſerved others to conclude their orations with the greateſt and moſt memorable tranſactions. Indeed I think thoſe who ſo judge and ſo do, to be wiſe men; but as it is not permitted me to do the ſame, I muſt extend my oration beyond thoſe bounds. The reaſon why I do ſo, I ſhall mention hereafter, when I have ſpoken of thoſe advocates for the Spartans. I was correcting this oration, when it was written ſo far as we are come, with three or four young perſons who uſed to converſe with me; when we had read it over, it ſeemed to be well compoſed, and only to want a concluſion; yet I judged it proper to ſend for ſome one of thoſe who had been my ſcholars, but had lived in an oligarchy, and had always affected to praiſe the Lacedæmonians; that if any thing falſely ſpoken had eſcaped me, he, by his quick perception, might acquaint me with it. When he therefore came, and had read the oration, he found nothing which I had written amiſs, but praiſed it very much, and ſaid of each part almoſt the ſame as we judged; tho' it appeared he did not approve of thoſe things which

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had been ſaid of the Lacedæmonians. He ſoon ſhewed it; for he dared to ſay, that, had they been authors of no other good to the Greeks, yet all ſhould be juſtly grateful to them on this account, that, having invented the nobleſt inſtitutes, they themſelves had uſed them, and had ſhewn them to others. This ſo ſhort and brief an aſſertion, was the reaſon I did not finiſh the oration as I deſigned, but thought I ſhould act ſhamefully, and with meanneſs, if, being preſent myſelf, I ſhould ſuffer any of my diſciples to uſe ſuch indecent expreſſions. Thinking in this manner, I aſked of him, if he had no value for the perſons preſent, nor was aſhamed of an impious and falſe poſition, which was likewiſe full of contradictions. You will underſtand, added I, that it is ſuch, if you aſk of the prudent what inſtitutes they judge the moſt beautiful; and, again, how long it is ſince the Spartans have inhabited Peloponneſus. There is none but will think the chief of all inſtitutes to be piety towards the gods, juſtice towards men, and prudence in other things. All will ſay, the Spartans have not inhabited there above ſeven hundred years. Theſe things being ſo, if you ſay the truth, when you aſſert that they were the inventers of the beſt inſtitutes, it neceſſarily follows, that thoſe who were born many ages before the Spartans had ſettled there, were not partakers of them; neither thoſe who fought at Troy, nor thoſe born in the time of Hercules and Theſeus, nor Minos the ſon of Jupiter, nor Rhadamanthus, nor Æacus, nor any of the reſt who are now celebrated in hymns for theſe virtues, but all of them enjoy a falſe honour. But if you trifle, and it is reaſonable that thoſe who were born of gods, ſhould both have practiſed theſe virtues more than others, and have ſhewed them to poſterity, it cannot happen otherwiſe, but that you muſt ſeem extravagant to the hearers, when you praiſe any in ſo raſh and ſuch an unjuſt a manner; and commend thoſe who deſerve reprehenſion, as if you had heard nothing of my oration. Thus you had erred before, but had not ſpoken contradictions; but when I have produced my oration, which

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shews, that the Lacedæmonians have committed many and heinous actions against their relations and other Greeks, how could you say, that those who were guilty of such crimes, were the chief authors of the noblest institutes? Besides, I wondered, that you should be ignorant, that it is not every one who finds out that which is either wanting to institutes, arts, or any other things, but those who excel in genius, have been able to learn the most antient sciences, and have applied their minds more than others to new inventions; from all which the Lacedæmonians are remoter than the very Barbarians: for it will appear, that these have been both the scholars and teachers of many inventions; but the others have been so averse to common learning and philosophy, that they learn not letters; which have such power, that whosoever know them well, and use them rightly, know not only what is done in their own age, but what was done in all times. Yet you, I say, have dared to call those who are ignorant of such things, the inventers of the noblest discipline; and tho' you know this, that they habituate their children to such exercises, by which they may not become benefactors to Greece, but may prejudice it much as possible. And should I reckon up all their exercises, I should cause a great nausea both in myself and hearers. But when I have mentioned only one, which they love, and are fondest of, I think I shall have demonstrated all their manners; for they send their youth, as soon as they rise, into the fields, on pretence of hunting, but, in fact, to rob those who live in the country: in which case, should they be taken, they pay money, and are lashed for it; but those who have committed more crimes, and could carry off something, are more celebrated among the boys than others; and when they arrive at manhood, if they continue in these practices they loved when boys, they stand the fairest chance for the highest magistracies. Now, if any one can shew me any part of their discipline more loved by them, or more honoured, I will confess I have hitherto said nothing to any purpose. But what is there noble, what honest, nay,

not worthy of shame, in such actions? How can any one do otherwise than esteem them mad, who praise those who have so far departed from the sense of common laws, and think not, in this respect, either with Greeks or Barbarians? for these think the mischievous and thieves worse than slaves: the other, those boys, who are chief in such actions, the best among their fellows, and honour them the most. But what prudent man would not chuse rather to die, than be known, by such practices, to imagine he could introduce virtue?

When he had heard this, he did not confidently oppose any thing I said, nor yet was entirely silent; but added, you indeed (meaning me) have spoke in such a manner, as if I approved of all those things, and think they are right. You seem to me justly to blame them for the licentiousness of their children, and many other things, but yet to find fault with me unjustly: for I was sorry, while I read the oration, not so much for what was said in it against the Lacedæmonians, as because I, who was hitherto accustomed to praise them, had nothing to oppose. When I was reduced to these straits, I said what remained to me, viz. that we ought to be grateful to them, if on no other account, at least on this, that they used the most beautiful institutes. I said not this with a view either to piety, justice, or prudence, which you mentioned, but to the gymnastic games, their exercises of fortitude, their concord, and, in a word, their military art; which all will confess to be noble, and they chiefly to use them.

He having said this, I received his answer, not as if he had refuted any thing of my accusation; but as hiding what was the most vehemently said, not illiterately, but wisely, and as having defended the other things more modestly than he at first boasted. But omitting this, I told him, I had a more grievous accusation against what he last had said, than about the boys thieving; for by that exercise, said I, they have corrupted their own children; but by what you now have mentioned, they have ruined Greece. It is an easy

matter to know this; for, I think, all will confeſs, that thoſe are the worſt of men, and worthy of the greateſt puniſhments, who uſe things which were invented for good, to the ruin of others, not of Barbarians, nor delinquents, nor of thoſe who invade their country, but of thoſe who are moſt united with them by alliances and blood; which the Spartans have done. Now, how can any one ſay, that they uſe the military art well, who have never ceaſed to deſtroy thoſe at all times, whom they ought to have preſerved? But you are not the only perſon ignorant of what they uſe well, but almoſt all the Greeks; for as ſoon as they have ſeen any do ſo, or have heard from others, that they ardently ſtudy thoſe things which are eſteemed laudable, they immediately praiſe them, and make many diſcourſes of them, tho' they do not know what will happen. But it becomes thoſe who would judge with ſanity, to be calm in things of this nature in the beginning, and have no opinion about them; but when ſuch a time is elapſed, that they have been obſerved ſpeaking and acting both in private and public affairs, then we ſhould conſider each of them accurately, and honour and praiſe thoſe who apply with juſtice and integrity thoſe ſtudies which they have choſen, but to reprehend the delinquent and profligate, and ſhun their example; reflecting, that the nature of things neither benefits or prejudice us, but that the uſe made of them by men, and their actions, are the cauſes to us of all events. This any one may know from hence; for the ſame things every where, and no ways differing, are uſeful to ſome, and hurtful to others: but it is not conſonant to reaſon, that each thing ſhould have a nature contrary to itſelf, and not be the ſame; yet that nothing ſhould happen of a like nature to thoſe who act rightly and juſtly, which happens to thoſe who live luſtfully and ſhamefully, will appear no myſtery to thoſe who reaſon juſtly. The ſame diſcourſe would hold good about concord; for it is of a ſimilar nature with other virtues: but yet I affirm, that one ſort of concord is the cauſe of many goods, but the other of many calamities; and

ſuch is that of the Spartans: for the truth ſhall be ſpoken, tho' I may ſeem to ſome to ſay what is incredible. They taking it for an opportunity, that they underſtood from travellers, how the Greeks were at variance amongſt themſelves, ſo behaved, as if they thought that rapine was art, and that what is the greateſt calamity to other cities, they believed moſt beneficial to themſelves. By this means, it was in their power to treat thoſe cities which were ſo afflicted, as they pleaſed. Therefore none can juſtly praiſe them for their concord any more than pyrates, and thoſe who are occupied in other malevolent actions and injuſtices; for they, by agreement among themſelves, ſlay others. But if I ſhould ſeem to make a compariſon unworthy of their glory, I will omit it; and ſay then, that the Treballi, whom all allow to agree better together than all other men, yet ſlay not only their neighbours, and thoſe who dwell near to them, but all others which they can reach; whom certainly it does not become thoſe, who are lovers of virtue, to imitate, but the beauty of wiſdom, of juſtice, and other virtues. Yet thoſe virtues benefit not their own natures, but render thoſe they come to, and remain with, happy. But the Lacedæmonians, on the contrary, ruin thoſe they approach, and claim the goods of others as their own lawful poſſeſſion.

When I had ſaid this, I ſilenced him I ſpoke againſt, an able man, experienced in many things, and as well verſed in the art of ſpeaking as any of my diſciples. But all the youths that were with me, were not of the ſame ſentiment as I; yet they praiſed me, as having diſputed more ardently than they had expected, and contended nobly; but him they deſpiſed, not judging wiſely, but miſtaking about both: for he went away wiſer, and with ſuch a humble mind, as becomes wiſe men, and experiencing ſomething of a like nature with what is mentioned in the Delphian oracle: he underſtood himſelf, and the Lacedæmonians, better than before. But I was left ſucceſsful enough in the diſpute, yet left more fooliſh on that account,

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and bolder than becomes persons of my age, full of juvenile perturbation. It appeared I was so affected; for as soon as I had leisure, I did not rest before I dictated to my boy that oration which I had made a little before with so much pleasure, tho' it was a little after like to give me trouble; for though I had written all things in it nobly and justly, yet I grieved, and was sorry for what I said of the Lacedæmonians: for I did not seem to myself to have spoken moderately of them, nor as of others, but negligently, with too much acrimony, and an entire inconsideration. Wherefore, often inclined to blot it out, or burn it, I changed my purpose, pitying my old age, and the labour I had employed in its composition. While I was in this trouble, and often repented, I thought it most prudent, after calling those of my disciples who were in the city, to deliberate with them, whether this oration was to be suppressed, or delivered to those who would receive it; and determined to do what seemed proper to them. Resolving thus, I made no delay; but they were soon called together whom I mentioned. I told them on what occasion they were met, and the oration was read. It was praised, received with applause, and obtained all the ends which those do who succeed in orations of the declamatory kind. This being over, the others disputed among themselves about what had been read; but he, whom I had first consulted, him, I mean, who praised the Lacedæmonians, and with whom I had disputed more than I ought; after he had ordered silence and looked at me, said, he doubted what he should do at present; that he would neither disbelieve the things I had advanced, nor yet entirely assent to them. I wonder, says he, if you were so grieved or sorry, as you intimate, for those things which have been spoken of the Lacedæmonians (for I see nothing of such a nature as to deserve repentance), or whether you did not designedly call us together to consult about the oration, and whom you well knew would praise whatever you say or do. Prudent persons are accustomed to communicate those writings which they finish with great labour, especially to those

who are wiſer than themſelves; at leaſt, with thoſe who will give their opinion freely; the contrary of which you have done: neither of which reaſons I approve of. But you ſeem to me to have cauſed this meeting of ours, and compoſed the panegyric of the city not in a ſimple view, nor as you have ſaid to us, but becauſe you had a mind to make trial of us, whether we ſeriouſly apply ourſelves to our ſtudies, and remember thoſe things we heard during our inſtruction, and perceive the method and art of the oration. You indeed ſeem prudently to praiſe your city, that you may pleaſe the multitude of citizens, and acquire glory amongſt thoſe who are benevolent to us. When you had determined upon this, you thought, if you made mention of it alone, and ſpoke of thoſe fabulous things which all mens mouths are full of, all that you ſaid would look like what had been written by others; for which you would have been greatly aſhamed and grieved: but that, if omitting theſe things, you ſhould recite thoſe actions which are allowed true by all, and have been the cauſes of many goods to the Grecians, and compare them with thoſe of the Lacedæmonians, and extolled the actions of our anceſtors, but depreciated thoſe done by them, your oration would ſeem more full of energy to the hearers, and you would dwell on thoſe topics, which ſome would admire more than other writings. You therefore ſeem to me to have diſpoſed things ſo, and deſigned them from the beginning; but being conſcious that you have praiſed the city of Sparta beyond any other men, you ſeem to have been apprehenſive leſt the hearers ſhould think you like thoſe who throw out all that preſents itſelf to their imaginations; and therefore now diſpraiſe thoſe whom you had elevated more than others. Intending this, you ſeem to me to have conſidered, by what method of deſcribing them you might ſeem to ſpeak truth of both, praiſe your anceſtors as you pleaſed, and ſeem to ſuch as are ill-diſpoſed towards the Spartans, to accuſe them, but, in fact, do no ſuch thing, but write their hidden encomium. When you had this in view, you ſeem

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eaſily to have found ambiguous words, and which are no more adapted to thoſe who praiſe than thoſe who diſpraiſe, but ſuch as may be bent both ways, and have many doubtful lights. To uſe which, for him who diſputes about contracts and properties, would be ſhameful, and no ſmall ſign of improbity; yet they ſufficiently agree with a diſcourſe treating of the nature of men, noble actions, and learning; ſuch as is that oration which has now been recited, wherein you have repreſented your anceſtors as pacific, and lovers of Greece, and the chief authors of a juſt adminiſtration in republics; but have made the Spartans proud, martial, coveting others properties, and ſuch as all have thought them. Each of them having ſuch diſpoſitions, it is probable that the firſt will be praiſed, and judged benevolent to the multitude, and that many will envy and malign the others; yet that ſome ſtill will praiſe them, admire them, and dare to ſay, that they are endowed with greater goods than their anceſtors; for they will aſſert, that pride has an allied nature to majeſty, which is a laudable quality, and that perſons tinctured with it, ſeem to all more magnificent than ſuch as are authors of equality; that warlike men are far more excellent than ſuch as are ſtudious of peace: for theſe can neither acquire what is not preſent, nor be ſtout guardians of their poſſeſſions; but that the others can do both, ſeize what they deſire, and preſerve whatever they have poſſeſſed themſelves of: which they do who appear compleat men. But they think, they have more plauſible words to plead for the deſire of new acquiſitions; for as for ſuch as defraud in contracts, deceive others, and impoſe on them, they do not judge them juſt, but avaritious; and, by gaining bad reputation, they are diſappointed in all things. But that the deſire of more in the Spartans, kings, and tyrants, is to be wiſhed for, that all would do the ſame, and none reproach or execrate thoſe who are endowed with ſuch abilities; nor is there any one of ſo abject a mind, but he prays to the gods, that he chiefly may acquire ſuch a power, or, if not, his neareſt relations. From whence it is clear,

that, to excel in this, we all think the greateſt good. You therefore ſeem to me to have made your oration with ſuch a deſign. But if I thought you would ſpare your words, and let my diſcourſe paſs without a reprehenſion, I would ſtop here. Now, I ſuppoſe, you are not ſollicitous that I have not declared my opinion about what we were called here to conſult on; for when you called us, I could not think you acted ſeriouſly in the affair; but I judged you had reſolved to compoſe an oration unlike your former, which, to negligent readers, would appear plain and eaſy, but to thoſe who diligently read it, and endeavoured to ſee into what had eſcaped others, would appear difficult and ſcarcely to be underſtood; full of many hiſtories, and abounding in all variety of erudition and polite fiction; not ſuch indeed as would prejudice the citizens, but which would benefit the hearers, and pleaſe them with its urbanity: which you ſhall not ſay I examine in that light you deſigned I ſhould; yet when I have ſhewn the force of what is ſaid, I do not perceive I ſhall make the oration ſo much more illuſtrious, as elucidate it, and make it more clear to the readers: for while I give knowledge to the ignorant, I depreciate not the oration, nor deprive thoſe who labour and are induſtrious, of the honour which might redound to them. I acknowledge my prudence to be much inferior to yours; but tho' I know this, yet while your city deliberates about the greateſt affairs, ſometimes the wiſeſt err in reſpect of public good; and of thoſe who are eſteemed mean and contemptible, ſome one has ſometimes thought right, and ſeemed to ſpeak what was beſt. Wherefore it is not to be wondered at, if ſomething of this nature has happened in regard of this diſcourſe, whereby you judge you will become moſt famous, if you argue as long as poſſible; in which diſpoſition you compoſed this oration. But I think you will act moſt wiſely, if you make that intention, which you had in the compoſition, evident to all others, and to the Lacedæmonians; of whom you have ſpoken much, ſometimes juſtly and gravely, and ſometimes in too reproachful a manner,

ner, and liable to odium; which had any one ſhewed them, before I had reaſoned on the ſubject, they muſt have hated, and been of an ill-diſpoſed mind to you, as againſt a perſon who had written an accuſation againſt them. But now I judge the Spartans will continue in their antient cuſtom, and no more heed the orations ſpoken here than what is ſaid beyond the pillars of Hercules: but as for the moſt prudent of them, who have ſome of your orations, and admire them if they get a reader, and have leiſure, they will be ignorant of nothing that is ſaid; but will obſerve the praiſes which are interſperſed of their city, with the enumeration of its actions, and will contemn the reproaches, which, in regard of fact, are ſpoken raſhly, and expreſſed with harſhneſs; and will think ſome words in your diſcourſe ſuggeſted by envy; but as for the actions and battles, of which they are both proud and rendered famous for, as for them, I ſay, that you wrote and collected them, that they might be remembered by placing them one after another, and in a parallel light. You they will think to be the cauſe, why many will be deſirous of reading and peruſing them; not that they deſire to hear of their actions, but that they would know in what manner you have ſpoken of them. Thinking of theſe things, and reflecting on them, they will not forget theſe antient actions, for which you praiſed their anceſtors, but will often make mention of them amongſt one another. How that firſt, when they were Dorians, and ſaw their cities ignoble, little, and indigent of many things, neglecting them, they made war againſt the chief cities of Peloponneſus, againſt Argos, Lacedæmon, and Meſſena; and, after they had conquered the inhabitants in battle, and drove the conquered from their towns and country, that they now hold all their poſſeſſions; a greater and more noble exploit than which none can ſhew in thoſe times, nor an action more ſucceſsful or pleaſing to the gods, than that which freed thoſe who undertook it from their own poverty, and made them lords of others felicity. This they did jointly with all their allies; but, after

they had parted the lands with the Argives and Meſſenians, and had ſeated themſelves apart in Sparta, you ſay they were ſo magnanimous at that time, that, when they were no more than two thouſand, they thought they were unworthy of living, unleſs they became maſters of all the towns in Peloponneſus. When they had entertained this deſign, and undertook it, they did not loſe courage, tho' ſurrounded by many miſeries and dangers, till they had ſubjected them all to themſelves, except the city of Argos. Having now acquired a very ſpacious region, the greateſt power, and ſuch glory as muſt attend thoſe who have atchieved ſuch noble things, they gloried ſtill no leſs in this, that they had thus planted themſelves alone of all the Greeks, and that this aſſertion was peculiar and honourable to them only; for it was lawful to them, they ſaid, to affirm, that, while they were ſo few, they never followed more populous cities, or obeyed their commands, but were at their own diſpoſal always; that they were made the leaders in the war againſt the Perſians, of all the Greeks; that they attained this honour not without reaſon, but becauſe, tho' they had fought more battles than any men in thoſe times, had never been conquered in any one when their king was general, but had come off victorious in all: a greater ſign no one can give of bravery, patience, and concord among one another, than that which ſhall now be mentioned: for tho' there be ſuch a number of Grecian cities, it is impoſſible to find any one of the reſt, which has not fallen into the calamities incident to cities. But no one can ſhew, that, in the city of the Spartans, unjuſt ſlaughters have been made, or plundering of money happened, or violation of wives and children, nay, a change of government, freeing from juſt debts, diviſion of lands, or any other incurable evils: which when they reflect on, it cannot be but that they muſt remember you, who have collected and diſcourſed ſo elegantly upon theſe facts, and have a great gratitude for it. I have not now the ſame opinion of you which I had before; for, in former times, I admired your ingenuity, the order of

your

your life, and chiefly your induſtry. Now, I emulate your fortune, and think it happy; for it ſeems to me, that you will enjoy, while living, a glory not indeed greater than you deſerve (for that would be difficult) but almoſt ſo, and be more illuſtrious than you are at preſent; and when you are dead, you will be a partaker of immortality, not that of the gods, but ſuch as propagates the memory of thoſe to poſterity, who have excelled in any noble actions: and this you will juſtly obtain; for you have praiſed both cities elegantly, as you ought; the one, according to the opinion of the vulgar, which none who were illuſtrious ever deſpiſed, but, to attain its honours, would undergo any dangers; and the other, according to the opinion of thoſe who endeavour, by conjectures, to come at the truth; to be glorious amongſt whom ſome would rather chuſe than amongſt others, though they were twice as many as they now are. Being fired at this time with incredible ardor, and having many things to ſay, both of you, the cities, and your oration, I will, notwithſtanding, omit theſe topics; but I will declare my ſentiment of what you aſſembled us for. I will adviſe you neither to burn this oration, nor ſuppreſs it; but if it has any imperfection, correcting it, and inſerting all our diſſertations, to communicate it to all who may be deſirous of peruſing it; if you would gratify the beſt of the Greeks, and ſuch as are true philoſophers, and who do not pretend to be ſo; and would affect thoſe with grief, who admire you more than others, but cavil at your orations in aſſemblies (in which aſſemblies, though, there are more who ſleep than hear), and who think, if they can deceive ſuch perſons, their orations will be equal to thoſe written by you: not reflecting, that they are more inferior to your orations, than thoſe are to Homer's glory, who have attempted to write in the ſame kind of poetry.

When he had ſaid this, and aſked thoſe preſent to give their opinion of what they were called about, they uſed no noiſy applauſe, which happens often in hearing elegant diſcourſes;

courſes; but they cried out, that he had harangued admirably, and, ſtanding round him, praiſed him, admired him, and eſteemed him happy; and had nothing to add, or take from his words, but declared themſelves of his ſentiment, and perſuaded me to do as he had adviſed me: nay, I myſelf was not ſilent, but praiſed his ingenuity and ſtudies. Of the reſt I ſaid nothing, whether he had hit on my deſign, or had miſtaken it; but I ſuffered him to think as he was inclined.

And I think I have ſpoken ſufficiently of what I propoſed; for it is not proper to recapitulate the particulars of ſuch orations: but I will mention what privately happened to me in this oration; for I began to write it ſo old as I have already ſpoke of; but having finiſhed the half, a diſeaſe ſeized me, not proper to mention, but which was capable of deſtroying not only old men in three or four days, but thoſe who are in vigour. With this I ſtruggled three years, while I paſſed each day ſo laboriouſly, that both they who knew it, and they who heard it from others, more admired me for that patience, than for thoſe things for which I was praiſed before. When I now deſpaired on account of the diſtemper, and my old age, ſome of thoſe who viſited me, and had often read that part of the oration which was written, begged of, and perſuaded me, that I would not leave it half-finiſhed and imperfect, but labour at it awhile, and apply myſelf again to what remained. They did not ſpeak this in a ſlight perfunctory manner, but ſo as they highly commended the writings, and ſaid thoſe things, which had any heard who were not intimate with us, or moved by ſome benevolence (it could not otherwiſe have happened), but ſuch would have thought they deſigned to impoſe on me, and that I had loſt my ſenſes, and was a mere fool, if I believed them. Being in this ſtate, as ſome perhaps have ſaid of me, I obeyed them (why ſhould I make more words upon this ſubject?), when I wanted but three of being an hundred years old, and was ſo indiſpoſed, that, had another been in ſuch a bad ſtate of health, he would have been

been ſo far from writing an oration, that, had another ſhewn him one he had written, he would not have read it.

But for what reaſon have I mentioned this? not aſking pardon for what I have ſaid; nor do I think I have written in ſuch a manner: but becauſe I had a mind to ſhew both what had happened to me, and praiſe ſuch of the hearers who approved of this oration; and I think thoſe diſcourſes, which teach and demonſtrate ſome art, of more value and erudition than thoſe which are written for oſtentation, or diſputes in the forum, and thoſe which have in view truth, better than ſuch as endeavour to deceive the minds of the hearers. Laſtly, thoſe which reprehend and admoniſh the culpable, of more worth than ſuch as are ſpoken to pleaſe and flatter the hearers. And I would adviſe thoſe who think the contrary, firſt, not to truſt to their own opinions, nor judge thoſe criticiſms true, which are paſſed by indolent perſons: in the ſecond place, not raſhly to decide of what they do not underſtand, but ſuſpend their judgment, till they can aſſent to thoſe who have a greater experience of ſuch things; if they do this, there is no one will think they act impertinently.

THE

THE THIRTEENTH

ORATION

OF

ISOCRATES:

ENTITLED,

Againſt the SOPHISTS.

The SUBJECT

WISE men, and members of eloquence and philoſophy, were at firſt in Athens called Sophiſtæ; *and this name, in its genuine ſignification, was very honourable, as was that of* Tyrannus, *ſignifying formerly a king. Both loſt their meaning in time, and had a quite different one. Thus it happened, that ſuch as were full of arrogance, and pretenſion only to ſcience, were called ſophiſts; men who made a ſhew and boaſting of ſcience a trade. Iſocrates inveighs againſt ſuch, as groſsly deceiving themſelves and others, and bringing true philoſophy and eloquence into odium and contempt. There is a fine paſſage of the force of genius, and benefit of education.*

THE THIRTEENTH ORATION of ISOCRATES: ENTITLED, Againſt the SOPHISTS.

IF all thoſe who undertake inſtruction, would ſpeak the truth, nor make greater promiſes than they can perform, they would not be accuſed by the illiterate. Now, thoſe who inconſiderately have dared to boaſt, have been the cauſe that thoſe men ſeem to have reaſoned better, who indulge their indolence, than ſuch as ſtudy philoſophy: for, firſt, who would not deteſt and deſpiſe thoſe who paſs their time in ſophiſtic chicanery? who pretend indeed, that they ſeek truth, but, from the beginning of their promiſes, labour to ſpeak falſities; for I think it manifeſt to all, that the faculty of foreknowing future things is above our nature: nay, we are ſo far from ſuch prudence, that Homer, who, for his wiſdom, has acquired the higheſt fame, has ſometimes introduced gods in his poem, conſulting about futurity; not that he knew the nature of their minds, but that he would ſhew to us, that this was one of thoſe things which are impoſſible for man. Theſe men are arrived at that pitch of inſolence, that they endeavour to perſuade the younger, that, if they will be their diſciples, they ſhall know what is beſt to be done, and thereby be made happy; and, after they have erected themſelves into teachers of ſuch ſublime things, they are not aſhamed to aſk of them four or five minæ;

minæs; tho', did they ſell any other poſſeſſion for much leſs than its value, they would not hesitate to grant themſelves mad. But now expoſing to ſale all virtue and happineſs (if we will believe them), they dare argue, that, as being wiſe men, they ought to be the preceptors of others; yet they ſay indeed, that they are not indigent of money, while, to diminiſh its idea, they call it pitiful gold and ſilver; tho' they require a trifling gain, and only promiſe to make thoſe next to immortal, who will commence their diſciples. But what is the abſurdeſt of all, is, that they are diffident of thoſe very perſons from whom they are to receive their reward, though they themſelves are to teach them juſtice; for they make an agreement, that the money ſhall be depoſited with thoſe whom they never taught. Doing right in regard of their own ſecurity, but acting contrary to their own promiſes: for it becomes thoſe who teach any other thing, by a cautious bargain to avoid controverſy (for nothing impedes, but that thoſe who are ingenious in other reſpects, may not be honeſt in regard of contracts); yet how can it be but abſurd, that they, who pretend to teach virtue and temperance as an art, ſhould not chiefly truſt to their own diſciples; for they who are juſt towards other men, will certainly not treſpaſs againſt thoſe, by whom they were made both good and equitable.

When therefore ſome of the unlearned, conſidering all theſe things, ſee thoſe who profeſs teaching wiſdom and happineſs, indigent themſelves of many things, requiring a ſmall ſum of their ſcholars, and obſerving contradictions in ſilly ſentences, though they ſee them not in actions; profeſſing likewiſe, that they know futurity, yet not capable of ſpeaking or deliberating properly of things preſent; and that thoſe are more conſiſtent with themſelves, and do more things right who follow common opinions, than thoſe who ſay they are poſſeſſed of wiſdom: when they ſee this, I ſay, they think ſuch diſputations mere trifles, a loſs of time in idle things, and not a real improvement of the human mind.

Nor

Nor is it juſt to blame theſe men only, but thoſe likewiſe who profeſs to teach civil ſcience to the citizens; for they alſo diſregard truth; and think it artful, if they draw as many as poſſible, by the ſmallneſs of the recompence, and the greatneſs of their promiſes, and ſo receive ſomething of them: and they are ſo ſtupid, and imagine others ſo, that tho' they write orations more inaccurate than ſome who are unlearned ſpeak extempore, yet they promiſe they will make their diſciples ſuch orators, that they ſhall omit nothing in the nature of things; nay, that they will teach them eloquence, like grammar; not conſidering the nature of each, but thinking, that, on account of the excellence of their promiſes, they will be admired, and the ſtudy of eloquence ſeem of higher value; not knowing, that arts render not thoſe famous who inſolently boaſt of them, but thoſe who can find out and expreſs whatever is in them. But I would purchaſe willingly, at a great price, that philoſophy could effect this; perhaps, then, I ſhould not be left the fartheſt behind, nor have the leaſt ſhare of its benefits: but as the nature of the thing is not ſo, I would have theſe triflers to be ſilent; for I ſee reflections not only caſt upon the faculty, but that all are accuſed who are converſant in the ſame ſtudies. I wonder when I ſee thoſe thought worthy of having ſcholars, who perceive not they produce a fixed art, and bound down by rules, for example of that which depends chiefly on genius. Is there any one, excepting them, who is ignorant, that, as for letters and grammar, they are unchangeable, and the ſame, and that we always uſe the ſame words about thoſe things; but that the nature of eloquence is quite the contrary: for what has been ſaid by another is not equally uſeful to him who ſpeaks after; but he is the moſt excellent in this art, who ſpeaks worthily indeed of his ſubject, but alſo thoſe things which never were invented by others. The greateſt difference betwixt theſe arts is this: it is impoſſible orations ſhould be good, unleſs there be in them an obſervation of time and decorum; but there is no need of this in letters.

Wherefore thoſe who uſe ſuch foreign examples, ought rather to pay than receive money, becauſe, wanting much inſtruction themſelves, they pretend to teach others. But if I ought not only to accuſe others, but explain my own ſentiments, all wiſe men, I believe, will agree with me, that many, ſtudious of philoſophy, have led a private life; but that ſome others, tho' they never were the ſcholars of ſophiſts, were ſkilled both in eloquence and governing the ſtate; for the faculty of eloquence, and all other ingenuity, is innate in men, and is the portion of ſuch as are exerciſed by uſe and experience; tho' inſtruction renders ſuch more knowing in art, and better qualified for life: for learning has taught them to draw, as it were, from a ſtore, what elſe perhaps they would but caſually light on. But as for thoſe who are of a weaker genius, it will never render them adroit pleaders, or good orators; but it will make them excel themſelves, and become more prudent in many things. Since I am advanced ſo far, I will ſpeak more clearly of this topic: I ſay then, it is no difficult matter to learn thoſe forms or orders of things, by which we know how to compoſe orations, if any one puts himſelf under the care not of ſuch as eaſily vaunt themſelves, but ſuch as have the real ſcience: but, in regard of what relates to particular things, which we muſt firſt ſee, and mix together, and diſpoſe in order, and, beſides, not loſe opportunities, but vary the whole diſcourſe with arguments, and conclude it in a harmonious and muſical manner: theſe things, I ſay, require great care, and are the province of a manly and wiſe mind; and the ſcholar muſt, beſides his having neceſſary ingenuity, perfectly inſtruct himſelf in the different kinds of orations, and be exerciſed in the practice; but it becomes the maſter to explain all theſe as accurately as poſſible, ſo as to omit nothing which may be taught. As for the reſt, ſhew himſelf ſuch an example, that they who can imitate and expreſs it, may be able to ſpeak in a more beautiful and elegant manner than others. In whatever regard any thing of what I have mentioned is wanting,

wanting, it muſt follow, that his diſciples will be leſs perfect.

And for thoſe ſophiſts who have lately ſprung up, and fallen into this arrogance, tho' numerous now, they will be forced at laſt to conform to my rules. Now, there remain thoſe who were born before us, and have dared to write of arts, not to be diſmiſſed without juſt reprehenſion; who have profeſſed, that they would teach how we ſhould plead under an accuſation, chuſing out the moſt odious expreſſion of all, which their enviers ought to have done, and not they who preſide over this inſtitution; ſince this, as far as it can be taught, can conduce no more to the compoſing of law-orations than all others: yet the ſophiſts are worſe than thoſe who grovel amidſt contentions, becauſe, while they recite ſuch miſerable orations, as did any one imitate, he muſt become unfit for all things, yet affirm, that virtue and temperance are taught in them; but the latter, exhorting to popular orations, and neglecting the other advantages they were poſſeſſed of, have ſuffered themſelves to be eſteemed teachers of buſtling in buſineſs, and of gratifying avarice; yet they will ſooner aſſiſt thoſe who will obey the precepts of this learning, in the habit of equity than eloquence. But let no one think, that I imagine juſtice can be taught; for I do not think there is any ſuch art which can teach thoſe who are not diſpoſed by nature, either temperance or juſtice; tho' I think the ſtudy of popular eloquence helps both to acquire and practiſe it. But that I may not ſeem to accuſe other mens promiſes, and magnify things more than I ought, I judge I ſhall eaſily manifeſt to any one by the ſame arguments with which I have perſuaded myſelf that theſe things are ſo.

THE FOURTEENTH ORATION OF ISOCRATES: FOR THE CITY of PLATÆA.

The SUBJECT.

PLATÆA was a city of Bæotia, memorable for the defeat of Mardonius, and the deſtruction of the Perſians, which was always more inclined to the Athenians than to the Thebans. The Platæans, in the time of a general peace, having had their city ruined by the Thebans, becauſe they would not contribute to their public expences, deſire of the Athenians to be reſtored. It is probable it was ſpoken in a council of the allies, and diſputes about law, and is of an animated, vehement character. The Platæans do not only contend, that an injury has been done them, but they prove their conſtant benevolence to the Athenians, and exclaim againſt the treachery of the Thebans. In the concluſion, there is a prolix enumeration of their calamities.

THE FOURTEENTH ORATION of ISOCRATES: FOR THE CITY of PLATÆA.

KNOWING you, O Athenians! to be accuſtomed willingly to aſſiſt the injured, and ſhew your gratitude to benefactors, we are come to intreat you not to ſuffer us, in time of peace, to be deſtroyed by the Thebans. Since many have fled to you, and obtained all they deſired, we think it particularly concerns you to have a great care of our city; for you will find none to have fallen more unjuſtly than us into calamities, nor longer to have behaved with fidelity towards your city. And, beſides, to intreat you about ſuch things, in which there is no danger, but for which all men, if you liſten to us, will eſteem you the moſt religious and juſt of all the Greeks. Now, did we ſee the Thebans alone ready to perſuade you, that they have not treſpaſſed againſt us, we ſhould finiſh our oration in few words; but ſince we are come to this point of miſery, that we have not a contention with them, but with the moſt excellent orators, whom they have got for their patrons with our ſubſtance, there is a neceſſity that we ſhould protract our oration.

AND it is difficult not to fall ſhort of what we ſuffered. What eloquence can equal our calamities? or what oration,

is ſufficient to accuſe the Thebans for what they have perpetrated againſt us? But yet we ought to endeavour, in the beſt manner we can, to render their iniquity manifeſt. We are particularly filled with indignation on this account, that we are ſo far from being judged worthy of equal law with the reſt of the Grecians, that tho' there be peace and a mutual covenant, we not only are not partakers of common liberty, but are thought undeſerving of moderate ſervitude. We therefore deſire of you, O Athenians! to hear us benevolently; reflecting, that what is moſt unreaſonable muſt happen to us, if you have been the authors of liberty to the Thebans, who always had a mind averſe to your republic; and yet we, who are your ſupplicants, cannot obtain what thoſe have who were your greateſt enemies.

And I do not ſee why I need to ſpeak more of what has been done. Is any one ignorant, that they have divided our lands, and deſtroyed our city? In reſpect of what they may deceive you in by eloquence, we will endeavour to inform you. They dare to ſay, that they have treated us in this manner, becauſe we would not contribute to their ceremonial expences. In the firſt place, you ought to conſider whether it be juſt, for ſo ſmall faults, to exact ſuch cruel puniſhments; then, whether you think, that the Platæans ſhould not, by perſuaſion, and not by force, contribute in this manner. I cannot conceive an idea of any more audacious than ſuch as overthrow cities, and will force thoſe who have no need of it, to be partakers of their city's rituals. And, beſides, they do not ſeem to have acted towards us as they have done towards others. It became them, when they could not perſuade our city, to have obliged us, as the Theſpians and Tanagræi, only to contribute to their ſacrifices; and, by this means, nothing irremediable would have been our portion. But it is now evident, they did not deſign this, but were covetous of our country. I wonder, in view of what paſt actions, or how, if they regard what is juſt, they can pretend to command us ſuch things. If they look into their country's cuſtoms, they will

will find they ought not to command others, but rather pay tribute to the Orchomenians; for this was formerly their condition: but they would have treaties to be ſacred, which they certainly ought. How can they then pretend they do not act unjuſtly? for theſe treaties order, that both great and ſmall cities ſhould live by their own laws.

I JUDGE they will not dare to act impudently in this regard; but will turn themſelves to that ſubterfuge, how we fought along with the Lacedæmonians; and that, by deſtroying us, they have done good to the whole alliance. I think, that no cauſe or accuſation ſhould have more validity than oaths and covenants: but if it is proper any ſhould ſuffer calamities for their ſociety with the Lacedæmonians, the Platæans are not juſtly choſen out of all the Grecians; for we did not by choice, but force, ſerve them. Can any one believe we were arrived at ſuch a pitch of frenzy, that we would eſteem them more, who had reduced our city to a ſtate of ſlavery, than thoſe who had made us free of theirs. But I judge it would have been a difficult matter to have attempted novelties, when we had ſo ſmall a city, and they ſo great a power; eſpecially when a preſident was conſtituted, a gariſon was within, and the Theſpians had ſuch forces; by whom we ſhould as eaſily have been ruined as the Thebans, and more juſtly: for it did not become theſe, while there was peace, to remember offences given then; but they having been deſerted in war, would have juſtly exacted the greateſt puniſhments from us. I judge likewiſe, you are not ignorant, that many other Greeks were forced to follow them with their bodies, but were with you by benevolence: and of what diſpoſition do you judge they will be, if they hear, that the Thebans have perſuaded the Athenians, that none ought to be ſpared who have been ſubject to the Lacedæmonians; for their oration can tend to nothing but to prove this: for have they not deſtroyed our city, under pretence of a new crime; but ſuch a one as may be alledged to them? Concerning whom you ought to conſider and reflect, leſt the inſolence of theſe men ſhould reconcile

reconcile those who hated the empire of the Lacedæmonians, and make them believe, that their only safety consists in their alliance. Reflect also, that you undertook the last war, not for your own or allies liberty (for you all enjoyed this) but upon account of them, who, contrary to oaths, had been deprived of it. Now, this would be most cruel, if you suffered that those very cities, which you thought it unjust should serve the Lacedæmonians, should be destroyed by the Thebans; who are so far from imitating your clemency, that it would be better to suffer what is thought most calamitous, to be taken by war, was it by your city, than to be neighbours to them; for they indeed, who were taken by you by force, immediately being freed by the president from servitude, are now partakers of their counsel, laws, and liberty: but as for those who inhabit near them, some of them have no less hard a servitude than bought slaves, and they will not desist to ill-treat the others, till they have reduced them to our condition; yet they accuse the Lacedæmonians, that they seized the Cadmea, and put garisons in towns; but they, tho' they do not put garisons in towns, overthrow the walls of some, entirely destroy others, and yet say, they commit no injustice: nay, they are advanced to that pitch of impudence and injustice, that they imagine all the allies should take care of their safety, but that they themselves should be the arbiters of others slavery. Now, who would not detest their ambition, who endeavour to lord it over the weaker, and think it just they should be equalled with the more powerful. They envy that land given by the Oropians to your city, and they divide by violence that of others; and they assert, what is beyond all their other improbity, that they have done this for the common good of the allies.

But it would be equitable, since there is a council here, and your city can deliberate more prudently than that of the Thebans, that they should have come hither not to excuse their actions, but to have deliberated with you before they had perpetrated any thing of this nature. Now, after they

they have plundered us, they come to make all the allies partakers of the crime; which, if wise, you will avoid: for it is more reputable to force them to imitate your religion, than to let yourselves be forced to be accessory to their crimes; for I think it clear to all, that it becomes wise men to consider in war by what means they may be superior to their enemies; but, when peace is made, to esteem nothing more than oaths and treaties. They, at that time, in all their embassies, pleaded for liberty and their laws; but since they have an impunity of doing whatever they please, neglecting all other things, they dare to plead for their own gain, and their own injustice; and they say, that it is useful to the allies, that the Thebans should have seized on our fortunes: little reflecting, that nothing ever benefited those who acquired it by injustice; but that many, who desired others properties unjustly, have fallen into the greatest dangers of losing their own possessions.

But they cannot say, that they have been faithful to their own side; and that there is apprehension, lest, if we should recover our own country, we should desert to the Lacedæmonians. You will find us to have been ruined for the sake of your friendship; but that they often trespassed against your city; and to mention their antient treacheries, would be too long and tedious. When the Corinthian war had been raised on account of their injustice, and the Lacedæmonians had marched an army against them, and they were saved by you, they not only were ungrateful for such benefits, but, after you had finished the war, deserting you, they sought the confederacy of the Lacedæmonians: yet the Chians, Mitylenæans, and Byzantians, continued in their fidelity; but they having such a city, would not even remain neuter, but were guilty of that degree of cowardice, of improbity and madness, that they promised, by an oath, they would follow the Lacedæmonians against you, who had saved their city. For which actions suffering punishment from the gods, the Cadmean castle being seized, they were forced to fly hither; after which they most particularly

shewed

ſhewed their perfidy: for again ſaved by your means, and reſtored to their country, they continued not the ſhorteſt time faithful, but immediately ſent embaſſadors to Lacedæmon, ſhewing they were ready to ſerve, and change nothing of what they had promiſed. And need I uſe a long oration? for unleſs the Lacedæmonians had ordered them to receive again the baniſhed, and expel the deſperate, nothing would have prevented them from joining an army againſt you their benefactors, made of the very perſons who had injured them. And yet theſe very men, who were lately ſuch toward this city, and formerly the betrayers of all Greece, theſe have been judged worthy of obtaining pardon for ſo great and voluntary crimes; and yet they think it is not equitable we ſhould obtain pardon for what we were forced to do: and though they are Thebans, yet dare to object to others a friendſhip for the Spartans, whom we all know to have been the longeſt ſlaves to them, and to have more vigorouſly carried on war for their dominion than their own ſafety. For what invaſion were they abſent from, which was made into this territory? or to whom were they more enemies, or hoſtilely diſpoſed than to you? Were they not in the Decelic war authors of more evils than all others who invaded your territory? Did not they of all the allies, when you had bad ſucceſs, did they not decree by their voices, that your city ſhould be reduced to ſlavery, and the country be divided into convenient paſtures, as the Criſæan field? Wherefore, had the Lacedæmonians had the ſame ſentiment as they, nothing could have hindered, but that you, who had been authors of ſafety to all Greece, muſt have been condemned to ſervitude by thoſe very Greeks, and fallen into the greateſt calamities. What benefaction can they pretend, in apology, of ſuch a nature as to extinguiſh that enmity, which muſt neceſſarily be in your minds for theſe cauſes?

THEREFORE, thoſe who have done ſuch things, have no excuſe. This apology alone is left for ſuch as will patronize them, that Bœotia now fights for your country; and

and if you diſſolve the friendſhip which ſubſiſts betwixt you, you will prejudice the intereſt of the allies; for there will be a great change of ballance, if this city join itſelf with the Lacedæmonians. But I neither think it beneficial for the allies, that the weaker ſhould ſerve the ſtronger (nor in former time did we carry on wars for any other reaſons but this) nor do I think the Thebans will be ſo mad, as deſerting your ſociety, ſurrender their city to the Lacedæmonians. I think not ſo, becauſe I truſt their tempers, but that I know one of theſe two is neceſſary, that they either muſt be ſlain in their city, and ſuffer what they have made others, or, betaking themſelves to flight, be in want, and be deprived of all hopes: for are they, or can they be in concord with their citizens? ſome of which being killed, and others baniſhed, they have rifled their ſubſtance: or, are they in amity with the other Bœotians? whom they not only endeavour to command unjuſtly, but have deſtroyed ſome, and plundered the lands of others. Nay, they cannot return to your city, which they have ſo egregiouſly betrayed ſo many times. Wherefore it can never happen, that they will become your enemies raſhly for the ſake of others, and indubitably loſe their own city; but, in all their actions, they will behave themſelves more moderately, and will more diligently pay you reſpect, in proportion as they are fearful for themſelves. They have given you a proof in their behaviour at Oropum, how you ought to treat ſuch tempers. While they thought they had the power of doing whatever they pleaſed, they did not behave towards you as allies, but treſpaſs as againſt declared enemies. When you had decreed, that, on account of theſe inſults, they ſhould be excluded from the treaties, they came to you, with ſuch abject minds, that they behaved themſelves more humbly than we do in our preſent condition. Wherefore, if any of the orators ſhould deter you, ſaying, there is danger, leſt, changing, they ſhould join with the Lacedæmonians, you ought not to believe them: for they are under ſuch neceſſities, they would ſooner ſuffer your government than

than have the alliance of the Lacedæmonians: but ſhould they do quite the contrary, yet ſtill I do not think it becomes you to have more value for the Thebans, than your oaths and covenants; reflecting firſt, that it is your cuſtom not to fear danger, but infamy and diſgrace; and then, that it uſually happens, that ſuch conquer not in war, who overthrow cities by violence, but thoſe who govern Greece in a more clement and religious manner. And any one may prove this by many examples. As for what has happened in our times, does any one not know, that the Lacedæmonians diſſolved your power, which ſeemed invincible, when at firſt they were but weakly prepared for a ſea-fight? And by what opinion did they draw over the Greeks? Again, who does not know, that you, in turn, ſnatched the power out of their hands, marching from an unfortified and weak city, but having juſtice, as it were, for your ally? That the Perſian king was not author of theſe changes, the latter times have declared; for when Xerxes had enough to do, and your republic was deſerted, when almoſt all the cities ſerved the Lacedæmonians, you were yet ſo ſuperior to them in war, that they willingly ſaw a concluſion of peace. Let none of you then be afraid, when you fight upon the ſide of juſtice; nor think he will want allies, if he aſſiſts the injured, and not the Thebans only; whom if you oppoſe, you will cauſe many to deſire your friendſhip; for if you ſhew yourſelves equally ready to make war againſt all for the defence of the treaties, who will be ſo ſenſeleſs, as to join rather with thoſe who have oppreſſed Greece by ſlavery, than with you who fight for liberty? But ſhould you not be of this mind, with what arguments, ſhould a war again happen, would you perſuade the Greeks, if, while you pretend liberty, you ſuffer any cities to be laid waſte by the Thebans? How can you avoid contradicting yourſelves, if you do not reſiſt the Thebans in violating their leagues, and declare you make war with the Lacedæmonians on this account? and if you have receded from large poſſeſſions, to make the alliance as great as poſſible, yet

ſuffer

ſuffer theſe to enjoy what belongs to others, and do all thoſe things, for which all will think you the meaner. But this would be the abſurdeſt of all, if you ſhould judge it proper to be auxiliaries to thoſe who have always been moſt friendly to the Lacedæmonians, if theſe command them to do any thing contrary to the covenants; and ſuffer us, who have perſevered your friends for the longeſt ſpace of time, only for being forced in the laſt war to obey the Lacedæmonians, to be exterminated from amongſt men. Who can be found more miſerable than we, who were deprived in one day of our city, our lands and ſubſtance, equally deſtitute of all neceſſary things; who are become wanderers, not knowing whither to turn ourſelves? Driven from our country, filled with deſpair, and like vagabonds who wander over Greece, and ſee all habitations with uneaſineſs: if we find others miſerable, we grieve to find ourſelves, beſides our other calamities, aſſociated with them in miſery; or, if we approach the proſperous, we grieve the more, not becauſe we envy their happineſs, but becauſe we ſee more clearly our own miſery in the light of our neighbours felicity. For which reaſons, we paſs no day without tears, but continue to lament our country, and this change which has been made in it. What, can you think, muſt be the ſituation of our minds, when we ſee our parents nouriſhed in an unworthy manner in their old age, and our children not educated with the ſame hopes that they were begotten; but many of them ſerving for petty ſalaries, others employed in low offices, and others getting their daily livelihood in the beſt manner they can; which is unworthy of the actions of our anceſtors, and of our own magnanimity. But this is the moſt cruel of all; to ſee not only citizens ſeparated from citizens, but wives from huſbands, children from parents, and all relationſhip diſſolved; which has happened to many of our citizens on account of poverty: for common ſuſtenance being wanting, makes every one look to private hope. I cannot ſuppoſe you ignorant of the other diſgraces which attend poverty and baniſhment; which

which we bear with more difficulty than our other diſtreſſes, but omit to expreſs them, becauſe we are aſhamed to look into our calamities.

WHICH you perceiving, we implore you to have ſome compaſſion on us; for we are not aliens to you, but all related by benevolence, and moſt by affinity: for, by the permiſſion of mutual marriages, we were born of women who were your citizens. Wherefore you ought not to ſlight the petition we come to make; for certainly it would be inexpreſſibly cruel, if you made us formerly free of your city, and now judge us unworthy of being reſtored to our own. Beſides, it is not equitable to pity particulars, who ſuffer injuſtice, and not allow a ſmall portion of pity to a whole city unjuſtly ruined; eſpecially that which flies to you for refuge, to whom it was formerly no diſgrace, but glory, to have pity on ſupplicants: for when the Argives came to your forefathers, and prayed, that they might carry off thoſe who had fallen under the Cadmæa, your fathers, being perſuaded by them, forced the Thebans to more equitable counſels, and were thereby not only famous in thoſe times, but left immortal glory for their poſterity to all futurity; of which it does not become you to be the betrayers: for it would be a ſhame for you to glory in the actions of your fathers, and openly act the contrary to them in regard of ſupplicants. But we are come hither to plead for things more equitable, and of far greater moment. They made ſupplication to you, after they had led an army upon others territories; but we, after having loſt our own country: and they implored you to ſuccour them in burying the dead; but we, to ſave the remainder of our unhappy citizens. Now, the calamity is not equal or alike, for the dead to be denied burial, and the living to be deprived of their country, and all their fortunes; for the firſt is more diſgraceful to thoſe who forbid it, than to thoſe who ſuffer the inhumanity: but to have no refuge, but to be deprived of our city, to be afflicted every day, and be forced to neglect our fellow-citizens, when we cannot aſſiſt them; I

ſay,

ſay, to ſuffer this, why need I enumerate how far ſuch a calamity exceeds all others. Wherefore, we implore, we humbly beg of you all, to reſtore us to our country and city, by admoniſhing your old men to conſider men of their years miſerable, and deſtitute of neceſſary daily food; by entreating of, and praying your young men, that they will aſſiſt their equals, nor let them ſuffer more than has even been already mentioned. You owe, as it were, to us alone of all the Greeks, this chiefly, to afford us ſuccour; for it is ſaid, our anceſtors, when your forefathers had abandoned this country in the Perſian war, were the only perſons of all who inhabited out of the Peloponneſus, who were partakers with them of the dangers, and, together with them, ſaved this city. Wherefore we ſhall juſtly receive again the benefit which we firſt conferred on you.

But ſhould you have decreed not to regard our perſons, yet it does not become you to let our country be deſolated, in which are left the greateſt monuments both of your valour, and of others who fought with you: for other trophies have been erected by one city over another; but theſe were built for the conqueſt of all Greece over the collected powers of Aſia, which the Thebans will juſtly deſtroy; for theſe monuments are their diſgrace, and which, for that reaſon, you ought to preſerve: for you were made, on their account, leaders of Greece. You muſt likewiſe make account of your anceſtors, nor deny them the piety due to their merits; thinking what ſentiment they would have (if there be any ſenſe left in the infernal regions of what is done here) ſhould they know, that, after you were conſtituted arbiters, thoſe who refuſed not to ſerve the Barbarians, are become the maſters of other Greeks; and that we, who fought along with you, are the only Greeks who are deſolated; and that the monuments of ſuch as faced thoſe dangers, have not their annual funereal rites, for the want of perſons to perform them. Remember, that you particularly accuſed the Lacedæmonians for this, that, gratifying the Thebans, who were the betrayers of Greece,

they had deſtroyed its benefactors. Let not, then, this reproach be retorted on your city, nor prefer their inſolence to your glory. Tho' many arguments remain, whereby you might be excited to have regard for our ſafety, I cannot comprehend them all in a ſhort oration; but you ought yourſelves, reflecting on what is omitted, and particularly remembering your oath and covenant, and then our benevolence and their enmity, decree us juſtice.

THE

THE FIFTEENTH ORATION OF ISOCRATES: ENTITLED, On the Exchange of Eſtates.

The SUBJECT.

ISOCRATES had acquired considerable riches, and great glory, by instructing the young nobility in literature and eloquence; but he could not avoid envy, the sure attendant of distinguished merit. They therefore aspersed him, as corrupting the morals of the youth he taught with false principles, and to have heaped up money by teaching of fallacy; as if true eloquence was not the clearest and best reasoning. His enemies thus hoped to do him a prejudice. There was (as Libanius says) such a law at Athens: Three hundred of the most opulent citizens were to be what they called Trierarchi, who were to build, at their own expences, gallies for the defence of their country. But if any one pleaded inability of bearing such an expence, he was excused, could he prove another richer than himself: if such an one refused, he was obliged to change his estate with the other: and this kind of action or cause was called permutation, or exchange of fortunes. By this means our author was forced to pay this ship-money; which did not grieve him so much as to see himself exposed to such furious envy of his citizens. There are noble passages in it, and the whole oration is most worthy to be read with the greatest attention. Nothing can be stronger painting of the manners of the great and small vulgar, as Cowley poetically stiles them.

THE FIFTEENTH ORATION of ISOCRATES: ENTITLED, On the Exchange of Eſtates.

IF this oration, which is now to be recited, was like to thoſe which are written for the forum and oſtentation, there would be no reaſon for making a preface to it. Now, upon account of its novelty and diverſity, there is a neceſſity that I ſhould explain the reaſons, for which I have choſe to write it in ſo different a manner. If this was not known, it would perhaps appear abſurd to many. Tho' I know many of the ſophiſts calumniate my ſtudies, and ſay they are all employed in writing popular orations (and this they do juſt as wiſely as if any one ſhould call Phidias, who carved the ſtatue of Minerva, a maker of poppets, or compare Zeuxis and Parrhaſius with ſuch as paint ſigns) yet I would never have revenged their depreciating me in this manner, becauſe I ſhould judge their trifles were of no moment, and that I had made this manifeſt to all, that I laid down inſtitutes, have ſpoken and written, not about private contracts, but of ſo great and of ſuch things as none before have attempted, beſides thoſe who were my diſciples, or ſuch as would imitate them. For, upon account of my advanced age, I thought, for the ſake of my profeſſion, and likewiſe my never having meddled with other buſineſs, I had the friendſhip of my fellow-citizens; but now, when

the concluſion of my life approaches, an exchange of eſtates being propoſed, and a diſpute being founded on it, I have perceived ſome of them not ſo diſpoſed towards me as I expected; and others much deceived about my ſtudies, and inclining to believe whatever is ſaid againſt me; and others indeed, to know ſufficiently in what ſtudies I am converſant, but yet to envy me, and be of the ſame temper as the ſophiſts, and to take pleaſure in thoſe who have a falſe opinion of me. They have declared themſelves of this mind; for when my adverſary objected nothing equitable about what was to be decided, but calumniated the power of my orations, and ſpoke, in an oſtentatious manner, many things of my wealth, and the multitude of my diſciples, they decreed I ſhould perform this office. And we ſo bore the expence, as it becomes thoſe who are neither too much ſtruck with things of this nature, nor too prodigal and negligent of money. When I had found, as I have ſaid, that there were more than I thought, who entertained unkind ſentiments of me, I reflected by what means I might ſhew to them, and poſterity, my habitual manners, the life that I lead, and the nature of the learning which I profeſs; nor ſuffer myſelf, by negligence, to be condemned without a hearing of the cauſe, nor let it be in the power of calumniators, as it has hitherto happened. When I had conſidered this, I found I could not finiſh it by any other method, than by writing an oration, which might ſerve as a picture of my mind, and all my actions. By this I hoped, that whatever belongs to me, would be more honourably known than by any monument in braſs. But if I ſhould endeavour to praiſe myſelf, I foreſaw I could not comprehend all thoſe things I deſigned to diſcourſe of; nor be able to ſpeak with favour, and without envy. But if I ſuppoſed a judgment and danger, and he that accuſed me, a ſycophant uſing thoſe arguments which were brought againſt me in the trial of the exchange of eſtates, and myſelf pleading in appearance of defence, by this means I thought I ſhould have an opportunity of diſputing about whatever

whatever I pleaſed. While I was thinking in this manner, I wrote this oration not in my vigour, but when I was in the eighty-ſecond year of my age. Wherefore, it is but juſt I ſhould be pardoned, if it appears weaker than thoſe orations which I have hitherto publiſhed. Nor was this diſcourſe eaſy, or of a ſimple nature, but ſuch as required much care and labour; for ſome of theſe things which are written in it, are proper to be ſaid in court, ſome are not proper for ſuch diſputes, but are ſpoken freely of philoſophy, and explain its excellency. There is ſomething likewiſe, which may benefit thoſe youths who love diſcipline and erudition, if they liſten to it. Many things likewiſe of what I ſaid before are inſerted, not raſhly or unſeaſonably, but as far as correſponded with my deſign. Now, it was not a ſmall labour to have in one view the prolixity of ſuch a diſcourſe, to join together ſo many and different forms, to unite what follows with what went before, and make all conſiſtent with itſelf: yet I did not deſiſt, tho' I was of this age, until I had finiſhed it, and ſpoke, at leaſt, with truth, but, in other reſpects, as it ſhall appear to the hearers. Now, it becomes thoſe who read it over, to attend to it, as if it was a mixed oration, and written for all theſe ſubjects; and then fix their thoughts rather on what ought to be ſaid, than on what has already been ſpoken by me. Beſides, not to be eager to run it all over at once, but ſuch a part of it as is not incommodious to the hearers. If you obſerve this, you will more eaſily perceive if I ſpeak in any degree worthily of myſelf. This was what I judged neceſſary by way of preface.

Now read the defence, which is written as a defence in judgment, but with deſign to explain the truth, and make the ignorant know better, and thoſe who envy me, be tormented more than ever with the fame diſtemper. I cannot exact a greater puniſhment from them. But I judge thoſe the worſt of all, and worthy of the greateſt puniſhment, who dare to accuſe others of the very faults which they are guilty of themſelves; which Lyſimachus has done: for he,

in his written diſcourſe, makes more words about my orations than about all other things; acting juſt in ſuch a manner, as if, while a perſon accuſes another of ſacrilege, he ſhould be found to have what belonged to the gods in his own hands. I ſhould heartily wiſh he thought me ſo powerful in eloquence, as he has pretended to you: he would then have never given me trouble. Now, he ſays, I am capable of making inferior cauſes ſeem the better; and yet ſo far has deſpiſed me, that he hopes he can overcome me, tho' I ſpeak the truth. And all things have happened to me ſo unfortunately, that others indeed refute calumnies by their orations; but Lyſimachus has made mine the ſubject of his accuſation: with this deſign, that, if I ſeem to you to ſpeak accurately enough, I may be judged guilty of what has been ſaid by him of my dexterity. But if I ſhould ſpeak worſe than he has made you expect from me, that then you may judge my actions ſtill liable to more blame. I therefore deſire of you neither to believe or diſbelieve thoſe things which have been ſpoken, until you have conſidered what I ſhall ſay to the concluſion; reflecting, it would not be neceſſary that the accuſed ſhould have liberty of ſelf-defence, if what is juſt could be determined from the accuſer's oration. Now, whether there be, or not be, any one who is preſent at this judgment, with an accuſatory or malicious intention, none ſhall be left in ignorance. But if he ſpeaks the truth, yet it is no eaſy matter for the judges themſelves to determine from what he has ſaid in the firſt place: and we ought to be contented, if they can attain a knowledge of the truth and equity by both our orations. Now, I wonder not at thoſe, who dwell longer on the accuſation of deceivers, than on the defence of themſelves; nor at thoſe, who ſay calumny is one of the greateſt evils: for what can be imagined more malicious than it? which makes thoſe who lye appear illuſtrious, thoſe who have done no injuſtice ſeem injurious, and the judges forſwear themſelves; which, by introducing a falſe opinion into the minds of the hearers, abſolutely extinguiſhes all truth,

truth, and deſtroys unjuſtly the citizen it falls on. In which reſpect it concerns you to take care, that nothing of this nature happens to you, or you yourſelves be guilty of what you object to others. I judge you are not ignorant, that our city has oftentimes before repented of judgments which have been paſſed out of anger, and not after a due examination: ſo that, no long time intervening, it deſired to take vengeance on ſuch as deceived it, and wiſhed the accuſed to live better than before. Remembering which, you ought not raſhly to believe the accuſers words, nor hear, with tumult and cruelty, thoſe who defend themſelves; for it would be a ſhame you ſhould be eſteemed the moſt clement in other regards, and moſt merciful of all the Greeks; and yet, in judgment here, act openly in contradiction to this opinion; and that tho', amongſt ſome others, an advantage in ballots is given to the accuſed, yet, among you, ſuch as are brought into danger, ſhould not be on an equal footing with calumniators; but that you ſhould ſwear yearly to hear with impartiality both the accuſers and accuſed, and yet be ſo far from this equity in actions, as to approve what accuſers ſay, but not even tolerate the voice of thoſe who endeavour to confute them, ſo long till you can hear them out; and think thoſe cities not fit to be inhabited, wherein ſome citizens are put to death without the liberty of pleading, but be ignorant that they do the ſame thing, who do not afford both contending parties in law the ſame benevolence. But this is the moſt iniquitous of all, that every one thinks, if he is brought into danger, it is juſt to accuſe his calumniators; but when he is to give ſentence in law in regard of another, has not the ſame opinion about theſe men. But it becomes thoſe who are prudent, to be ſuch judges towards others, as they would deſire others to be in their own caſe; reflecting, that, on account of calumniators, it is a thing uncertain, who, by being brought into danger, will be obliged next to plead the ſame things which I do, before thoſe who are to paſs their ſentences on him: for no one, by reaſon of his having lived a good and moderate

moderate life, ought to confide that he will have the liberty of living in ſecurity in the city; for thoſe who chuſe to neglect their own affairs, but watch inſidiouſly thoſe of others, do not refrain from ſuch as live modeſtly in the city, and bring thoſe who have committed ſome crime before you: but ſhewing their power againſt thoſe who have committed no injuſtice, they receive more money for ſilence from ſuch as are manifeſtly guilty: which Lyſimachus having in view, has brought me into this danger; thinking, that if this judgment paſſed againſt me, it would be, as it were, a revenue for him from others; and expecting, ſhould he be thought to have ſurpaſſed me in eloquence, who, he ſays, is the maſter of others, his power would ſeem inſuperable. Now, he hopes to attain this eaſily; for he ſees you too haſtily liſten to accuſations and calumnies, and that I cannot make an apology worthy enough of my reputation, on account of my old age, and ignorance of ſuch conteſts; for I have ſo behaved myſelf in my paſt life, that no one ever, in the oligarchy or democracy, either objected to me, that I had been guilty of contumely or injuſtice; nor can there be found either judge or arbitrator, who ever decided of any actions done by me: for I was ſufficiently appriſed of this piece of prudence, never to treſpaſs againſt others; and if I was injured myſelf, not to take revenge in a court of law, but to put an end to the diſpute in the company of friends: nothing of which has benefited me; but though I have lived blameleſs to this age, I am brought into as much danger as if I had injured all mankind: yet I am not quite caſt down with deſpair on account of the greatneſs of the fine; but if you will vouchſafe to hear me with benevolence, I have great hope, that thoſe who are deceived about my ſtudies, and inclined to ſuch as ſpeak diſadvantageouſly of me, will change their minds immediately, and thoſe who judge of me as I really am, will be more confirmed in their opinion. But that I may not give you trouble by ſpeaking more at large before I come to the ſubject, omitting what you are to decide, I will immediately endeavour

endeavour to inform you better. Wherefore let my accuſation be read.

The ACCUSATION.

My accuſer therefore endeavours, by this, to charge me me with corrupting youth, by teaching them eloquence, and to prevail in courts of juſtice over equity. In other reſpects, he makes me ſuch a perſon as no one ever was, either of thoſe who buſtle in courts of judicature, or thoſe who are converſant in the ſtudies of philoſophy; for he does not ſay, that only private perſons have been my ſcholars, but orators, generals, kings, and tyrants; and that I I have partly already received many preſents from them, and do ſtill receive. He made his accuſation in this manner, becauſe he thought, that by what he boaſted of me, of my riches, and the multitude of ſcholars, he might bring me into odium with the populace; and, by his ſkill in litigations, he might affect you with reſentment and anger; which as ſoon as judges are affected by, they become leſs equitable to the accuſed. Now, I believe I ſhall eaſily demonſtrate to you, that he has exaggerated ſome things beyond meaſure, and has been guilty of abſolute falſity in others. But I humbly intreat of you, that you attend not to thoſe things which you have heard from ſuch who endeavour to ſpeak ill of, and calumniate me to others, nor give credit to what has neither been ſaid with any proof or juſt judgment; nor regard thoſe opinions which have been iniquitouſly infuſed into you, but judge me to be ſuch as I appear by this preſent accuſation and defence; for, by thinking in this manner, you yourſelves will judge uprightly, and according to the laws, and I ſhall attain my juſt rights.

And I think that my preſent circumſtance of danger is a ſufficient proof, that none of my fellow-citizens have been injured by my art or writings; for had any one been ſo, tho' he had laid quiet in former time, he certainly would not neglect the preſent occaſion, but would come hither either

either to accuſe me, or give in ſome falſe witneſs; becauſe, ſince he who was never ill-uſed by me, has expoſed me to ſuch danger, certainly thoſe who had ſuffered by me, would endeavour to be revenged in turn; for this, doubtleſs, is neither congruous nor poſſible, that I ſhould have offended many, and that thoſe who have fallen into calamities by my means, ſhould lie dormant, nor dare to accuſe me, but be made milder to me in my danger than thoſe whom I never offended: when it is permitted them, would they declare ſuch facts, to take what vengeance they pleaſe of me. But never was there before, nor will there now be found any one, who will object aught of this nature to me. Wherefore, were I to grant to the accuſer, and and confeſs, that I was the acuteſt of mankind, and a writer of thoſe orations which grieve you, more than any other, I ſhould rather ſeem humane than deſerving puniſhment; for if I excelled others in eloquence and artful apologies, any might juſtly attribute the cauſe to fortune; but all ought to praiſe my manners for this, that I have with reaſon and moderation employed my ingenuity. But tho' I ſhould allow this ſuperiority of art in myſelf, yet I ſhall not ſtill be found converſant in compoſing ſuch orations; for I judge no one is ignorant of this, that all men are frequently in thoſe places where they chuſe to get their livelihood. Now, as for thoſe who live by contracts, and the buſineſs which ariſes from them, any one may obſerve they almoſt inhabit the forum. But no one ever ſaw me either in aſſemblies, at judgments in courts, or amongſt arbitrators; I ſhunned all thoſe more than any citizens. Again, you may find ſuch, who can only gain amongſt you; but if they fail to any other place, are indigent of the very neceſſaries of life: but as for thoſe riches which he has objected to me, they were all rather acquired from abroad. Beſides, you will find their familiars to be either ſuch as are under misfortunes, or thoſe who have a mind to give trouble to others: but you will find thoſe to have been converſant with me, who live the moſt at eaſe of all the Greeks. You

have

have likewiſe heard from the accuſer, that I have received many and great gifts from Nicocles king of Salamis. Now, to whom of you can it ſeem credible, that Nicocles ſhould have given me ſuch rewards for teaching him pleadings, who, as lord, is accuſtomed to end the diſputes of others? ſo that from what the accuſer has ſaid, it is evident, that I have always been remote from that buſtle and buſineſs which ariſes from contracts. Yet this is clear, that there are many who write orations for thoſe who purſue law-contentions in the forum; yet, of all this crowd, not one of them will be found to have ever been judged worthy of diſciples: but I, ſays the accuſer, will be found to have had more than all who are converſant in philoſophy. Now, how is it equitable to judge, that thoſe who differ ſo widely in their ſtudies and affections, are concerned in the ſame actions? Tho' I have many things to ſay, whereby it will appear, that my life is very different from the lives of thoſe who live by the forum; yet, I think, you will moſt eaſily be brought from ſuch an opinion, if it be once proved to you, that I never had any ſcholars of that kind which the accuſer has mentioned; and that I am not expert in compoſing ſuch orations as relate to private contracts; for I judge, that this accuſation being refuted, you will willingly entertain another notion, and be deſirous of knowing, by an application to what other kind of orations I have acquired ſo great a reputation. Whether it will benefit me to ſpeak the truth, I know not; for it is a difficult matter to reach your ſentiments by conjecture: but I judge I ought to ſpeak with freedom before you: for I ſhould be aſhamed of ſeeing my own diſciples, if, having often ſaid to them, that I deſired all the citizens ſhould know both the life I lead, and what kind of orations I deliver, I ſhould not, on this occaſion, ſhew it, but be found to conceal them. Wherefore, be attentive, as perſons who are certainly to hear the truth.

In the firſt place, you are to underſtand, that there are no fewer kinds of writing in proſe than in numbers. Some have

have ſpent their whole lives in inquiring into the families of the demigods; ſome have written commentaries on the poets; ſome have collected together actions in war, and others have employed themſelves about interrogations and anſwers, who are called diſputants. But it would be no ſmall trouble, ſhould I number up all the ſpecies of orations. Again, there are ſome who are not ignorant of what I have been mentioning; but have not choſen to compoſe orations about private contracts, but ſuch as concern Greece, and the ſtate of republics, and are adapted to general aſſemblies, which all will allow to reſemble more ſuch compoſitions as are formed to muſic and numbers, than ſuch as are recited in the forum; for they uſe a more poetic ſtile, contain a greater variety of actions, and ſeek after more new and ſublime arguments; and, beſides, decorate the diſcourſe with more florid figures and ornaments; with all which the hearers are no leſs delighted than with poetry. Many are willing to become diſciples of ſuch as excel in this kind; judging them to be wiſer and better than the others who plead cauſes, and capable of doing them more good; for they know, the firſt, out of a love of buſineſs, are ſkilled in controverſies and law-ſuits; but that the latter have acquired their eloquence by the ſtudy of philoſophy; and that thoſe who are ſkilled in conteſts and chicanery, are only tolerable on the day they are heard; but that the others are honoured in all aſſemblies, and at all times, and acquire a good reputation. Beſides, they perceive, that the firſt, if they be ſeen twice or thrice at judgments, become odious and are blamed; but that the others, the oftner and with the more they are converſant, are the more eſteemed and admired: that likewiſe ſuch as are ſkilled in popular pleadings, are very inept for orations of a philoſophic kind; but that the others, ſhould they pleaſe, would ſoon be capable of controverſial harangues. They thus judging, far prefer this inſtitution, and are deſirous of being acquainted with this erudition, which I cannot ſeem to any ignorant of, but to have acquired by it diſtinguiſhed glory. And you

you have heard now all the truth, either about my faculty, philoſophy, or exerciſe.

I WILL lay down a more ſevere rule concerning myſelf than others, and uſe a bolder aſſertion than ſuits my years; for I not only deſire, ſhould I appear to have written pernicious diſcourſes, to obtain no pardon, but, unleſs I compoſe ſuch for their utility as no others, that I undergo the ſevereſt puniſhment. I ſhould not make ſo bold a promiſe, if I could not eaſily demonſtrate this, and ſhew you the diſtinction of theſe orations. The caſe is ſuch: I judge that defence the moſt rational and juſt, which effects as far as poſſible, that the judges thoroughly underſtand about what they are to give their ſuffrages, nor miſtake, by opinion or doubt, which of the parties ſpeak truth. Now, was an accuſation brought againſt me as one who had treſpaſſed in ſome actions, I could not expoſe them to your ſight; but there would be a neceſſity, that, by conjecture, you paſſed a probable judgment of what had been done. But ſince I am accuſed on account of my orations, I think I ſhall make the truth more evident to you; for I will ſhew them to you which have been ſpoken and written by me, that not by opinion only, but the knowledge of their nature, you may give your ſentence. I cannot recite them all to the concluſion (for the allotted time is ſhort) but I will endeavour to give you, as of fruits, a ſpecimen of each of them; for a ſmall part being heard, you will eaſily know my manners, and the purpoſe of all my orations. Now, I deſire of thoſe who have often peruſed theſe which are to be recited, not to require of me at preſent new orations, nor think me tedious, that I repeat thoſe which before have been publicly and frequently read to you: for did I do this out of oſtentation, I ſhould deſerve juſt reprehenſion; but being now called before this court, and expoſed to danger, I am obliged to uſe them in this manner: for I ſhould be moſt prepoſterous, if, while the accuſer ſays, that I write ſuch orations as prejudice the city, and corrupt its youths, I ſhould make my defence in any other manner, when I can,

can, by producing my orations, diſſipate the calumny: I therefore deſire you will give me this leave, and aſſiſt me. I will ſo abridge, as preſently to finiſh the orations, having firſt made a ſhort preface, that you may the better comprehend what is ſaid; for that oration, which will be firſt ſhewn you, was written in thoſe times when the Lacedæmonians ruled over the Greeks, and we had but a weak power. It exhorts all the Greeks to undertake an expedition againſt the Barbarians, and diſputes with the Lacedæmonians about the principality. This hypotheſis propoſed, I ſhew our city to have been the cauſe of all the felicity which has happened to the Greeks: but, after I have given the proofs of theſe benefits, I deſigned ſtill more evidently to demonſtrate, that the ſovereignty belonged to our city, and proceed to inform the hearers, that it is juſt our city ſhould be even more honoured for its warlike exploits, than its other benefactions. I thought indeed I could yet have recited theſe things, but I find old age hinders me, and forces me to deſpair of it. But that I may not entirely fail by weakneſs, ſince many things are yet to be ſaid by me, beginning from the marginal note, read what was written upon the ſovereignty.

From the PANEGYRIC.

"I judge our anceſtors ought no leſs to be honoured for "their dangers undergone in war, than for their other be- "nefits done to Greece; for they hazarded not themſelves "in ſlight or obſcure battles, but in various, ſharp, and "great ones, partly for their own country, and partly for "the liberty of others.———

"And how ſhould we not ſuffer injuſtice, if we, who "ſuſtained the greateſt ſhare of evils, be judged only wor- "thy of the ſmalleſt part of felicity, and be now forced "to obey others, we who in thoſe times were at the head "of all."

Now, it is eaſy to judge by what has been ſaid, that the principality belongs to our city. Reflect with yourſelves, if I ſeem to corrupt youth, or exhort them to virtue, and riſking dangers for the republic; or if I ought to be puniſhed for what has been ſaid, and not rather receive the greateſt favour, who have ſo praiſed both the city and your anceſtors, and dangers bravely faced in thoſe times, that all thoſe who had written on this ſubject before, deſtroyed their orations, being aſhamed of their own inventions; and even thoſe who are at preſent ſkilled in this art, dare ſpeak no more on the ſame topic, but find fault with their own capacity. Yet tho' this is ſo, there will be ſome found, who can neither invent or ſay any thing of value, but who yet ſtudy to reprehend and blame others writings; who will confeſs, that theſe things are elegantly expreſſed (for they will not envy that praiſe) yet will aſſert, that thoſe orations are far more uſeful and better, which criticize on thoſe things which are now done amiſs, than ſuch as praiſe antient tranſactions; and thoſe which give counſel about preſent affairs, than theſe which recount paſt heroiſm. That therefore they may not even have this to ſay, omitting the defence of what was ſaid before, I will repeat to you as much of another as has been recited to you already; in which I ſhall be perceived to have taken great care of all theſe things. It is that which was ſpoken in the beginning of the oration, upon making peace with the Chians, Rhodians, and Byzantians. When I had ſhewn that it would benefit the city, would we put an end to the war, I blame the new dominion conſtituted amongſt the Grecians, as likewiſe the ſovereignty of the ſea; ſhewing, that it is no ways different from monarchies as to actions or ſlaughters. I commemorate what upon this account has happened to our city, the Lacedæmonians, and all others. When I had diſcourſed on theſe heads, and deplored the calamities of Greece, and admoniſhed our city not to commit negligently ſuch injuſtice; in the concluſion, I exhort to the obſervance of juſtice, reprehend public tranſgreſſions,

and give counſel about the future. Beginning therefore where I ſpeak of theſe things, I will recite likewiſe to all this part.

From the ORATION on PEACE.

"I judge you ſhould not only after having decreed peace, "leave this aſſembly, but after conſidering the means of "preſerving it; nor ſhould we do what we are wont— "after a ſmall interval, let ourſelves be reduced to the "ſame calamities; nor ſeek a prorogation of, but not a "freedom from our preſent evils.———

"WHAT delivery will there be from this diſorder? "and how ſhall we amend the manners of the city, and "make them better? Firſt, if we ceaſe thinking ſyco- "phants lovers of the people, and the good and virtuous "lovers of an oligarchy; tho' we know, that no man is "either by nature, but in whatever form of government "particulars are honoured, they deſire its eſtabliſhment. "If therefore you employ and embrace the good before "the bad, as was done formerly, you may have both the "leaders of the people, and others who adminiſter the "commonwealth, better diſpoſed towards you. Secondly, "if you endeavour to acquire alliances, not by wars and "ſieges, but benefactions; for it is natural that amities "ſhould ariſe from hence, but enmities from what we "now do. Thirdly, if you eſteem nothing more (exclu- "ſive of piety towards the gods) than to be celebrated "among the Grecians; for they voluntarily confer power "and authority upon thoſe who have ſuch a diſpoſition, "&c."

YOU have therefore heard two orations; I will likewiſe recite a few things out of a third, that it may ſtill be more manifeſt to you, that all my orations have a regard to virtue and juſtice. That which now will be recited, is that which adviſes Nicocles the Cyprian, who then reigned, how he ſhould govern his citizens; but it is not written in the ſame

ſame manner as thoſe which have been read. In them there is a perpetual coherence and connexion betwixt what goes before and what follows; but the contrary happens in this: for as if I wrote what they call general heads, the preceding ſentences not being relative to what follows, but diſtinct, I endeavour to expreſs in few words the ſubjects of my exhortation. And I took this method, becauſe I thought, that, by admonition, I ſhould both moſt benefit his mind, and beſt indicate my own morals. For the ſame reaſon I have reſolved to ſhew it you, not as being the moſt elaborately written, but, becauſe by it, it will moſt manifeſtly appear in what manner I have been accuſtomed to converſe with private perſons and princes. I ſhall be found in it to have reaſoned freely, and worthy of the dignity of our city, nor to have flattered him on account of his riches or power, but to have patronized the ſubjects, and rendered as much as I could his government mild and gentle. If when I ſpoke to a king, I eſpouſed the cauſe of the people, certainly I muſt ſtrongly incline ſuch as govern the commonwealth, under a democracy, to conſult the good of the people. In the exordium therefore, and amongſt thoſe things which are ſaid in the beginning, I blame princes for being worſe inſtructed than others, tho' they ought more than all others to cultivate their talents. After I have reaſoned on this head, I admoniſh Nicocles not to be indolent, or of as remiſs a mind as if he had received a kingdom as a prieſthood; but, deſpiſing pleaſures, to apply himſelf to public affairs. I likewiſe endeavour to perſuade him to this, that he ſhould think it abſurd, did he ſee worſe men governing better, and the more fooliſh preſcribing to the wiſer; adding, that the more he deſpiſed the ignorance of others, he would certainly more earneſtly exerciſe his own mind.

HAVING ſo many things to ſay, I know not how to diſpoſe them; for I am perſuaded, all thoſe things which I have in my mind, were they expreſſed, would appear juſt and modeſt; but ſhould I do ſo at preſent, they would cauſe much trouble to myſelf and hearers. And in regard of

thoſe things which have been ſaid, I am not without ſome apprehenſion, leſt they may be attended with ſome ſuch inconveniency on account of their multitude; for we all are carried away with ſuch an inſatiable deſire of ſpeaking, that we praiſe indeed proper ſeaſon and method, but no ſooner have we in our minds ſomething to ſay, but neglecting moderation, and always adding ſomething, we expoſe ourſelves to the greateſt impertinence. And I now, who ſpeak and know this, would ſtill diſcourſe a little longer with you; for I am filled with indignation, when I ſee calumny in a better condition than philoſophy, and the firſt accuſing, while the latter is brought before juſtice. Which who of the antients would have thought ever could happen? eſpecially amongſt you who glory above others on account of philoſophy. For things were not ſo in the time of our anceſtors: they admired ſuch as made profeſſion of wiſdom, and declared thoſe happy who converſe with them; but they judged ſycophants the authors of many evils. Of which this is a ſignal proof; for Solon, who firſt had the name of ſophiſt, or profeſſor of wiſdom, they thought worthy of being at the head of the city: but they enacted more ſevere laws concerning calumnies than all other crimes; for they appointed judgments only in one court for the greateſt injuries, but againſt ſycophants they allowed citations before the ſix (or thoſe called Theſmothetes), proſecutions before the ſenate, and accuſations before the people; believing ſuch as uſed this artifice, exceeded all others in improbity: for that others, while they do ill, endeavour to be concealed; but that theſe expoſe openly before all their cruelty, hatred, and inhumanity. They judged of them in this manner; but you are ſo far from puniſhing ſuch, that you make them accuſers of, and law-givers to others. But it is juſt they ſhould at preſent be more hated than even then; for, at that time, they only hurt the citizens in daily buſineſs, and what regarded the city; but now the city is increaſed, and has acquired the ſovereignty which our anceſtors held before, made bolder than becomes them, they

envy good and excellent men, on account of their power, who have ſo greatly benefited the city; and they have deſired wicked and audacious men, thinking, that, by their boldneſs and animoſity, they will be ſufficiently qualified to preſerve the democracy; but that, on account of their baſe circumſtances at firſt, they will not become proud, or ſeek a new ſtate of government. In this unhappy change, what bitter and great calamities have befallen the city, which thoſe of ſuch diſpoſition, by their words and actions, have been the cauſe of? Who never have ceaſed objecting to the moſt praiſe-worthy citizens, and ſuch as were able to do ſome good to the city, an affection for an oligarchy and the Lacedæmonians, till they forced them to be obnoxious to the crimes they were accuſed of; and, by vexing and calumniating our allies, and driving the beſt men from their poſſeſſions, they have rendered them ſo diſpoſed, as to be quite eſtranged from us, and to ſeek the friendſhip and alliance of the Lacedæmonians. By which conduct being forced into a war, we have ſeen many citizens partly ſlain, partly brought under the enemy's power, and partly reduced to the want of neceſſaries; beſides, the popular government twice diſſolved, and the walls of our country deſtroyed; and, what is moſt grievous of all, the city brought into danger of captivity, and the enemy poſſeſſing the citadel.

But I perceive I am tranſported by anger out of myſelf; and, tho' time fails me, am hurrying into a diſcourſe of a day-long, and a full accuſation. Omitting therefore the multitude of calamities which have ariſen from theſe men, and rejecting that croud of proofs which might be given of their calumnies, after I have mentioned but a few, I will conclude this oration. I ſee others indeed, when they are brought into danger, and come near the end of their defence, to ſupplicate, beſeech, and produce their children and friends; but I think nothing of this becomes a perſon of my advanced years; and, beſides this, I ſhould bluſh, ſhould I owe my ſafety to any thing elſe but thoſe orations which have been written and ſpoken by me before; for I

know I have made a virtuous and juſt uſe of eloquence both in reſpect of the republic, our anceſtors, and eſpecially the gods; ſo that, if they have care of human things, there will nothing be concealed from them which happens to me now: wherefore I fear not what by your means may befall me; but I truſt and have great hope, that the end of my life will then happen when it is expedient for you; and this, methinks, is a ſign, becauſe I have lived my paſt life to this day, as it becomes pious men, and ſuch as are beloved of the gods. Of me therefore, as being of this ſentiment, that whatever you determine will turn out a good and benefit to me, let every one paſs his ſentence as he pleaſes and inclines.

THE

THE SIXTEENTH

ORATION

OF

ISOCRATES;

ENTITLED,

Upon the PAIR of CHARIOT RACE-HORSES.

The SUBJECT.

THE Athenians had profecuted Alcibiades to death, who, tho' no model of integrity, was a perſon of many noble qualities. The popular envy likewiſe fell on his ſon; and, amongſt other calumniators, one Tiſias accuſed him concerning theſe chariot-horſes, to conquer by which, in the Olympic games, was eſteemed highly glorious among the Greeks; as if they had been extorted from him by Alcibiades, and demanded to be indemnified. This oration is properly an encomium of Alcibiades, and contains a fine paſſage concerning excellent virtue, and its liableneſs to envy and calumny.

THE SIXTEENTH ORATION of ISOCRATES: ENTITLED, Upon the PAIR of CHARIOT RACE-HORSES.

YOU have heard from thoſe embaſſadors who are come hither, and others who have known it, that my father had not this pair of horſes by extortion from Tiſias, but by purchaſe from the Argives. All have calumniated me in this manner. They lay their charge againſt me about private affairs, but make their accuſation up of what belongs to the ſtate, and employ more time in reproaching my father, than in explaining thoſe things which they were ſworn to; and they ſo far deſpiſe the laws, that they would exact puniſhment from me for thoſe injuries, which, they ſay, you received from him. But I think, crimes againſt the ſtate have nothing to do with private controverſies; yet, becauſe Tiſias often objects to me the baniſhment of my father, and is more ſollicitous about what concerns us than himſelf, there is a neceſſity I ſhould defend myſelf on this head: and I ſhould be aſhamed, ſhould I ſeem to any citizen leſs regardful of my father's fame than my own danger.

As for the old citizens, a ſhort diſcourſe would ſuffice me; for they all know, that by the ſame men the democracy was diſſolved, and he baniſhed. But I will begin to inform the hearers from remoter circumſtances, on account of the younger, who were born afterwards, and have often heard theſe calumniators; for they, who before had plotted againſt the people, and conſtituted the four hundred, becauſe my father, tho' invited, would not join the conſpiracy, perceiving him of great abilities for public affairs, and faithful to the people, thought they could make no change in the government of that time, until he was removed out of the way. But knowing the city was apt to be moſt inflamed by what concerns the gods, if any one was proved to have violated the myſteries, and to be likewiſe violently provoked in other regards, did any one attempt a diſſolution of the popular ſtate; joining thoſe two accuſations, they laid a charge before the ſenate, ſaying, that my father held counſels for innovations in the government; and that the partiſans ſupping together, celebrated the myſteries in the houſe of Polytion. The city being in commotion for the greatneſs of ſuch a crime, and an aſſembly being ſuddenly called, he ſo evidently ſhewed their falſity, that the people would willingly have puniſhed the accuſers, and, by their votes, appointed him general in the expedition to Sicily. After this, he ſailed from his country, as being free of the accuſation; but they again, by ſolliciting the ſenate, and binding the orators to their party, brought on the affair, and ſuborned witneſſes. Why ſhould I ſay more? for they did not deſiſt till they had both recalled my father from the army, and had put to death ſome of his friends, and baniſhed others: but he having heard of his enemies power, and the calamities of his friends, and judging he ſuffered oppreſſion, becauſe, while he was preſent, they had not brought him before juſtice, not even in this ſituation would he deſert to the enemy; but took ſuch care of not treſpaſſing againſt the city, that retiring to Argos, he remained there in quiet. But they arrived at that height

of

of inſolence, that they perſuaded you to baniſh him all Greece; to write it upon a column; and demand him of the Argives by embaſſadors. Being doubtful what he ſhould do in his preſent misfortunes, and excluded on all ſides, nor ſeeing any other ſafety, he was at laſt forced to fly to the Lacedæmonians. And this is a faithful narration of what then happened.

BEING thus unjuſtly deprived of his country, as if he had committed ſome atrocious crime, they accuſe and endeavour to calumniate him, as if he had fortified Decelea; had perſuaded the iſlands to revolt; and was become the inſtructor of our enemies: and ſometimes they pretend to deſpiſe him, and ſay, he no ways excelled others. Now they accuſe him of all that has been done, and ſay, that the Lacedæmonians learnt from him how to carry on war, who may even teach others that art. But I could eaſily, did the time allow me, ſhew, that he did ſome things juſtly, and that he unjuſtly bears the blame of others: but this certainly would be moſt unjuſt of all, if, when my father received a reward after baniſhment, I ſhould now ſuffer for that very baniſhment. Now, I think he ought to obtain a full pardon from you; you, who being baniſhed by the thirty tyrants, ſtruggled with the ſame calamities: wherefore you ought to remember how each of you was then affected, what diſpoſition he had, and what danger he would not have underwent to have ceaſed wandering, to have returned into his own country, and taken puniſhment of thoſe who had expelled him? And to what city, to what friend, to what ſtranger did you not apply yourſelves, to pray them to aſſiſt you in the recovery of your country? What did you abſtain from? Did you not, after ſeizing the Piræus, waſte the corn of the country, plunder the fields, ſet on fire the ſuburbs, and at laſt ſcale the walls? You judged ſo ſtrenuouſly this to be right, that you were provoked againſt thoſe companions of your baniſhment, who remained quiet, more than even thoſe who had been the authors of thoſe calamities: wherefore it is not juſt to

blame

blame thoſe of the ſame ſentiments with yourſelves, nor think them wicked men, who, driven from their country, endeavoured to return; but much rather thoſe, who remaining at home, did actions worthy of exile: nor beginning hence, judge of my father what a citizen he was when he was cut off from the city, but conſider how he was affected towards the people in the times before he went into baniſhment; and remember, when, with two hundred armed men, he withdrew the greateſt cities from the Lacedæmonians, made them your allies, and into what dangers he brought the Lacedæmonians, and tranſported the army into Sicily. You ought to be grateful to him for theſe actions, and think thoſe the authors of what happened in his calamity, who had expelled him the city. Remember likewiſe, I pray, that, after his return, he conferred many benefits on the republic; and this in particular, in what condition of your affairs you received him, the popular ſtate abrogated; the citizens labouring under ſedition; and the ſoldiers at variance with the magiſtrates appointed here; and both brought to that point of penury, that neither had any hopes of ſafety: for the one thought thoſe who held the city greater enemies than the Lacedæmonians; the others ſent for thoſe in Decelea, imagining that it was better to deliver the country to the enemy, than to give the right of the city to thoſe who had fought for the republic. When therefore the citizens had ſuch diſpoſitions, the enemies were conquerors by ſea and land, and you had no more money; but the Perſian monarch ſufficiently ſupplied them: beſides, when ninety ſhips came from Phœnicia to Aſpendum, and were ready to aſſiſt the Lacedæmonians; the city being in ſuch dangers and calamities, as ſoon as the leaders had ſent for him, he neither boaſted nor blamed any for the paſt, nor deliberated about the future; but immediately choſe rather to ſuffer any thing with the city, than be happy with the Lacedæmonians; and he made it manifeſt to all, that he had contended with thoſe who were the authors of his baniſhment, and not with you, and was deſirous of returning,

returning, and not of ſacking the city. Joined with you, he perſuaded Tiſſaphernes not to furniſh the Lacedæmonians with money; and cauſed the allies to ceaſe deſerting from you; but he divided money of his own amongſt the ſoldiers, reſtored the commonwealth to the people, reconciled the citizens together, and averted thoſe ſhips which had come from Phœnicia. And to mention what ſhips he afterwards took, in how many battles he defeated the enemy, how many cities he ſtormed, or made your friends by perſuaſion, would be an arduous labour to enumerate. Tho' many battles happened to our city in thoſe times, yet the enemy never erected a trophy over us, when my father was general.

And as for the things done by him when general, I know I omit many; but I have not ſpoken accurately of them, becauſe almoſt all of you remember thoſe tranſactions. They reproach likewiſe, and with too much indecency and confidence, another part of my father's life, nor are aſhamed of uſing that liberty of ſpeech about him now he is dead, which they would have been afraid of was he living. But they are arrived at ſuch a pitch of madneſs, that they think they will gain honour from you and others, if they make as many invectives againſt him as poſſible; as if all did not know, that it is in the power of the moſt worthleſs of mankind, not only to ſpeak reproachfully of the moſt excellent men, but outrageouſly to blaſpheme the very gods. Perhaps therefore it would be impertinent to heed all that has been ſaid; yet I have a particular inclination to ſpeak of my father's ſtudies, taking this topic ſomething higher, and making mention of my anceſtors, that you may underſtand, that long ago we have had one of the greateſt and nobleſt ſhares of glory among the citizens; for my father, on the male ſide, was derived from noble perſons, which is eaſy to know from his ſurname; and by the female, from the Alcmaionidæ, who have left one of the greateſt proofs of their riches; for Alcmæon was the firſt of the citizens who conquered in the Olympic games. But they ſhewed their affection

affection to the people eſpecially in tyrannical times; for tho' they were relations to Piſiſtratus, and his moſt intimate friends of all before he aſcended to ſupreme power, yet they would not be partakers of his tyranny; but they thought it fitter to fly their own country, than ſee their fellow-citizens enſlaved. That ſedition laſting forty years, they were ſo odious to the many tyrants that then roſe, that when their parties prevailed, they not only pulled down my forefather's houſes, but digged up their ſepulchres: but they conſtantly had that truſt put in them by the exiles, that they always continued the leaders of the people. Laſtly, Alcibiades and Cliſthenes, the one my great-grandfather by my father's, and the other by my mother's ſide, being choſen their generals, brought back the people from baniſhment, expelled the tyrants, and conſtituted that democracy, in which the citizens were ſo brought up to fortitude, that they alone conquered in battle thoſe Barbarians, who were come againſt all Greece: and, on account of juſtice, they were ſo famous, that the Greeks, by free conſent, entruſted them with maritime ſovereignty; and they rendered the city ſo great in power, and other advantages, that men called it the metropolis of Greece; and thoſe who were wont to uſe ſuch exaggerations, ſeem to ſay nothing but truth. Therefore this ſincere love of the people, ſo ancient and confirmed, and proved by the greateſt benefits, my father received handed down from his anceſtors. But he himſelf being left a pupil, was educated under Pericles, whom all will confeſs to have been the moſt moderate, juſt, and wiſe, of all the citizens. I look upon this to be ſingularly glorious, viz. after having been derived from ſuch parents, to have been educated, brought up, and throughly inſtructed in ſuch manners. When he was adult, he fell not ſhort of what has been ſaid before; nor did he think it juſt to lead an inactive life, and glory in the virtue of his anceſtors; but he was immediately ſo magnanimous, that he thought it proper he ſhould be praiſed on his own account, and not celebrated for their noble actions. And,

firſt,

firſt, when Phormio led a thouſand armed Athenians againſt the Thracians, after he had ſelected the beſt, my father marching with them, ſo behaved himſelf in battle, that he was honoured with a crown, and preſented by the general with a complete coat of armour. Now, what ſhall we judge him to have done afterwards, who was then thought worthy of the greateſt honours? Certainly, fighting along with the nobleſt of the city, to have deſerved precedency; and leading an army againſt the braveſt Grecians, to have been ſuperior in every battle. Wherefore, when he was a youth, he obtained ſuch honours, and advancing in years, performed ſuch actions.

AFTERWARDS he married my mother. I judge that he received her too as a reward of his virtues; for her father Hipponicus was the firſt of the Greeks in riches, and inferior to none by his family; honoured likewiſe and admired the moſt of all his contemporaries. Deſigning to marry his daughter with the greateſt fortune, and ſuitable glory, tho' all deſired to have obtained her, while none but princes pretended to it, he choſe my father, ſelected from all others, for his ſon-in-law.

ABOUT this time, my father obſerving that the Olympic games and aſſemblies were loved and admired by all, and that the Greeks made in them an oſtentation of their riches, ſtrength, and education; and that the Athletes were celebrated, and their cities rendered famous; beſides, thinking the private expences on theſe occaſions due to the public, and what was conferred upon this aſſembly, contributed for our city, to all Greece; thinking this, I ſay, tho' no one was ſtronger in body, or more dextrous than himſelf, he deſpiſed gymnaſtic conflicts, becauſe he knew that ſome of the wreſtlers were meanly born, dwelt in ſmall cities, and were ſordidly educated: wherefore he reſolved to keep horſes, which is the lot of the moſt fortunate, and not in the power of any vulgar perſon; and in this he ſurpaſſed not only thoſe who contended with him, but all who ever conquered in this kind; for he ſent ſo many pairs, as

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even the greateſt cities did not furniſh, and ſo excellent, that he was the firſt, ſecond, and third: beſides, he was in thoſe ſacrifices, and other magnificences of the feaſt, of ſo liberal and munificent a mind, that the public riches of cities ſeemed leſs than his private: and he ſo finiſhed that ſpectacle, that the felicity of the chiefeſt perſons ſeemed leſs than his; and that the glory of thoſe who had conquered in his time was eclipſed: ſo that he left no poſſibility to thoſe who ſhould ſucceed him in the ſame of ſurpaſſing him; for he ſo far excelled in all munificence, that they who had performed leſs generous offices, praiſed themſelves ſtill on that account; and ſhould any one, in my time, require favour on this ſcore, he would renew the idea of my father's merits.

Now, as for what regards the commonwealth (for this is not to be omitted, ſince he did not neglect it) he ſo far ſurpaſſed in beneficence the moſt celebrated, that you will find others to have moved ſeditions for their own ſakes, but that he expoſed himſelf for you to dangers; for he was not then popular only, when he was repelled by the oligarchy, but was popular when he was invited by them; and when he had it in his power not only to have reigned with a few, but be ſuperior to them too, he refuſed it, and choſe rather to ſuffer injuries from the city, than betray the republic. And no one could have perſuaded you by his eloquence of this, while you conſtantly lived under a republic; but the ſeditions ſince riſen, have evidently ſhewn you who were lovers of the people, who of an oligarchy; who deſired neither ſtate, and who would be partakers of both. And, firſt, they had no ſooner removed him, but they depoſed the popular government. Laſtly, they had ſcarce oppreſſed you by ſlavery, but they condemned him to baniſhment; ſo greatly did the city partake of my father's felicity, and he ſhare in its calamities. Of a truth, many citizens were averſe to him, as if he had affected tyranny, not forming their judgment from his actions, but judging it was what all deſired, and that he could moſt eaſily attain it: wherefore you ſhould be more grateful to him, ſince he alone of

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all the citizens was thought worthy of ſuch an imputation, and yet always thought it juſt to be on an equal footing with others in claim of equity.

On account of the multitude of things, which preſent themſelves to be ſaid of my father, I doubt which in particular I ſhould mention at preſent, and which I ſhould omit; for that which is yet unmentioned, ſeems always greater to me, than what has been ſaid before. Now, I judge it manifeſt to all, that he muſt be the beſt-affectioned towards the city's happineſs, to whom the greateſt good or evil in it belongs: who therefore, while the republic flouriſhed, was happier, or more admired than he? But when it was diſtreſſed, who was deprived of greater hope, of greater wealth, or more ſplendor and glory? In fine, as ſoon as the Thirty had got the ſupreme power, were not others only baniſhed the city, but he expelled all Greece? Did not Lyſander and the Lacedæmonians take as much pains to ſlay him, as they did to deſtroy your power? thinking that they could have no ſecurity of holding our city in ſubjection, tho' they deſtroyed the walls, unleſs they deſtroyed him, who was capable of reſtoring them; ſo that not only from thoſe benefits which he conferred upon you, but from thoſe calamities which he ſuffered, it is eaſy to perceive his benevolence: for it is evident that he aſſiſted the people, deſired the ſame ſtate of the republic as you did, was diſtreſſed by the ſame perſons, was unhappy with the whole city, judged the ſame his and your enemies, and underwent all kinds of dangers, partly under you, partly with you, and partly for you; for he was a citizen quite different from Charicles, my accuſer's relation, who was deſirous of ſerving the enemy, but of governing his citizens: and when he was baniſhed, remained quiet; but, on his return, prejudiced the city. How could there be a baſer friend, or a more worthleſs enemy? You, acknowledging yourſelf his relation, and having been a ſenator under the thirty tyrants, dare you recal to mind ancient injuries? And are you not aſhamed to violate the covenants, by

which you yourſelf inhabit the city? nor reflect, that ſhould a decree be made to take revenge for what has paſſed, you would, in the firſt place, and far more than I, be expoſed to danger; for they certainly will never inflict puniſhment on me for thoſe things which my father did, and at the ſame time pardon you the crimes, which you have perpetrated: for it will be clear, that you had not the ſame cauſe as he; you not being baniſhed, but governing, with others, the ſtate; not forced, but on your own accord, not a revenger, but as aggreſſor, injured your citizens; ſo that you can plead nothing in apology for ſuch crimes.

But of what was then tranſacted in the ſtate, perhaps hereafter, in this man's own danger, I ſhall have occaſion to make a diffuſer narration. I beg of you not to give me up to my enemies, nor afflict me with incurable calamities; for I have already experienced them ſufficiently, who was even born an orphan, my father being baniſhed, and my mother dying. Not four years old, I was brought in danger of my life, on account of my father's baniſhment: the others being returned from the Pyræus, and the reſt recovering their eſtates, I alone was deprived of my lands by the power of enemies, which the people had given us for money we furniſhed the public with. Tho' I have been involved in ſo many calamities, and have twice loſt my eſtate, I am now forced to defend myſelf againſt a fine of five talents. The action, indeed, is laid for money; but I plead in fact for my continuance in the city: for tho' the ſame fines are noted in the public books, the ſame danger hangs not alike over all; but thoſe who are rich, are only in danger of the penalty; but thoſe who, like me, are in narrow circumſtances, run the riſk of incurring infamy, which I eſteem a greater misfortune than baniſhment; for it is more miſerable to live ignominiouſly amongſt citizens, than to live among foreigners: I therefore intreat you to aſſiſt me, nor ſuffer me contumeliouſly to be evil-treated by my adverſaries, or to be deprived of my country, or rendered famous by my ruin. I juſtly may obtain pity from you,

you, by the nature of the things themſelves, tho' I did not endeavour to perſuade you by words: if it be juſt to pity thoſe who are undeſervedly in danger, contend about things of the greateſt moment, but ſuffer what is unworthy of themſelves and anceſtors, and have been deprived of the greateſt riches, and experienced the greateſt changes of life.

THO' I have many reaſons to deplore my caſe, I am particularly filled with indignation for theſe things: firſt, ſhould this perſon take revenge on me, who ought to do it on him: then, ſhould I ſuffer diſgrace for my father's Olympic victories, for which I ſee others have received rewards: beſides, if Tiſias, who never did any good to the city, be ſo powerful in a popular ſtate, as well as in an oligarchy, while I, who injured neither, ſhall be ill-treated by both: and if you ſhall have acted contrary to what was the wills of the thirty in other regards, but have the ſame ſentiments of me as this perſon; and if then deprived of the city along with you, I ſhould be now by you deprived of my country.

THE SEVENTEENTH

ORATION

OF

ISOCRATES:

ENTITLED,

The BANKER.

The SUBJECT.

A Certain youth of Pontus, the ſon of Sopæus, who had the particular friendſhip of Satyrus, the prince of Pontus, moved by a deſire of ſeeing Greece, having ſailed with two ſhips laden with corn to Athens, made uſe of the banker Paſio in paying and receiving his moneys. It happened in the mean time that Sopæus, being accuſed to Satyrus of affecting the kingdom, was thrown into priſon; and his ſon, for whom this oration was written, being accuſed of having conſpired with the exiles, was recalled into Pontus, with orders, that he ſhould deliver all his money to the embaſſadors. He therefore, by the advice of Paſio, whom he thought his beſt friend, obeyed, and what could not be concealed, gave to the embaſſadors; but denied he had any money in his hands, and added beſides, that he was conſiderably indebted to Paſio, that he might obtain from the tyrant ſome relief of his indigence. When Paſio ſaw the young man diſtreſſed on all ſides, judging he had a fine opportunity of ſecreting the money, when the youth re-demanded it, he denied that he had any thing of his. He was thus forced, for the preſent, to be patient; but a little after, Sopæus, upon the diſcovery of the truth, being reſtored to Satyrus's favour, his ſon, having been often deluded, lays his charge againſt Paſio, and demanded his money. The ſtate of the cauſe is conjectural; for the hinge of all turns upon this, if the plaintiff has money repoſited with Paſio. The moſt diſtinguiſhed topics in it are the inconſtancy of the favour of tyrants, and the danger of pretended friendſhip.

THE SEVENTEENTH ORATION of ISOCRATES: ENTITLED, THE BANKER.

THIS diſpute is not of ſmall moment, O judges! for I am not only expoſed to the danger of loſing a great ſum of money, but of ſeeming to have coveted another's property, which gives me a greater concern: for I ſhall have ſufficient money, tho' I be defrauded of this; but ſhould I appear to have deſired, without a juſt cauſe, ſo much money, I ſhall be for ever diſgraced. Now it is, O judges! one of the greateſt difficulties to have ſuch adverſaries; for contracts with bankers are made without witneſs, and there is a neceſſity that thoſe who are injured by them muſt run a great hazard, becauſe they have many friends, handle much money, and are eſteemed creditable perſons on account of their profeſſion; yet, though theſe things be ſo, I think I ſhall make it evident to all, that I have been defrauded of ſo much money by Paſio.

I WILL therefore, as well as I can, relate to you all that happened: My father, O judges! is one Sopæus, whom all know, who have ſailed to Pontus, to be in ſo great favour with Satyrus, that he governs a conſiderable country, and has the care of all his forces. Having heard of this city, and all Greece, I was deſirous of travelling. Now, my father, filling two ſhips with corn, and furniſhing me with money, ſent me abroad, both on account of

merchandize, and ſeeing foreign places. Pythodorus the Phœnician having recommended to me this Paſio, I made uſe of him in exchange. But my father being afterwards accuſed to Satyrus of affecting the kingdom, and I, that I was united with the exiles, he ſeized my father, and ſent to thoſe, who are come from Pontus, to receive the moneys of me, and order me to return home again; but, if I would do neither of theſe, that they ſhould then demand me of you. Being in theſe calamitous circumſtances, O judges! I lamented my fortune to Paſio; for I was ſo familiar with him, that I did not only truſt him with my money, but chiefly likewiſe with all my other concerns. Upon this, I thought, if I ſhould loſe all my money, I ſhould be brought into danger, ſhould my father happen to ſuffer, of being deprived both here and there of all I had, and of falling into the laſt poverty; but if, confeſſing I had wealth here, and Satyrus having ſent the fore-mentioned meſſage, I ſhould not give it up, I judged, that I ſhould expoſe both my father and myſelf to grievous calumnies with Satyrus. Deliberating therefore together, it ſeemed beſt, that I ſhould ſay, I would do all that Satyrus required, and ſhould deliver up that money which was known of, but ſhould not only conceal that which was repoſited with him, but declare, that I had taken up upon intereſt, both with him and others, ſeveral conſiderable ſums, and do every thing in ſuch ſort, as to make them believe I had no money at all. And I thought, O judges! that Paſio counſelled me to this out of benevolence; but when I had tranſacted the affair with thoſe whom Satyrus had ſent to me, I obſerved, that he had laid ſnares for my property: for when I would have received my own, and ſailed to Byzantium, he, thinking he had got a moſt convenient opportunity; that there was a great ſum of money repoſited with him, which was worthy of impudence; and that I had, in the hearing of many, denied I was poſſeſſed of any thing, and it was manifeſt to all, that when money was demanded of me, I confeſſed myſelf indebted to others; beſides, imagin-

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ing that if I attempted to ſtay here, I ſhould be delivered up by the city to Satyrus, and that, if I turned myſelf elſewhere, he ſhould not regard my complaints; or, if I did ſail to Pontus, that I ſhould periſh with my father: thinking, I ſay, theſe things, he reſolved to deprive me of my money; and at firſt he feigned to me, that he had not money; but afterwards, having a mind to know the truth, I ſent Philomelus and Menexenus to him, when he denied that he had any thing of mine. So many calamities at once ſurrounding me, what muſt have been the ſituation of my mind? who, by my ſilence, was in danger of being defrauded of my money, and, did I make my declaration, was not likely to receive it, but ſhould thereby render both myſelf and father ſuſpected by Satyrus of a great crime: I therefore judged it beſt to be quiet. After this, O judges! they came and told me, that my father was freed; and that Satyrus ſo repented of all that was done, that he had given him the greateſt pledge of it, increaſed the government which my father had before, and had taken my ſiſter for wife to his own ſon. When Paſio heard this, and knew I would declare my caſe, he concealed the youth Cittus, who was privy to what was done with the money; but afterwards, when I, coming to his houſe, had aſked for the boy, he thinking he would be a moſt evident proof of thoſe things which I accuſed him of, he aſſerted one of the moſt impudent falſities, that I and Menexenus, after we had corrupted and perſuaded the youth, who ſat at his counting-table, had defrauded him of ſix talents. But that there might be no queſtion or torture upon this ſcore, he added, that after we had hidden this youth, we accuſed him, and demanded whom we ourſelves had concealed; and ſaying theſe things, flying into paſſion, and weeping, he dragged me to Polemarchus, requiring bail: nor did he let me go, till I had given bail to ſix talents. Call thoſe who are my witneſſes.

Witneſſes.

You

You have heard the witneſſes, O judges! But I, when I had thus loſt one ſum of money, and had a ſhameful accuſation lodged againſt me for another, went into Peloponneſus to get more. In the mean time, Menexenus catched the boy here; and after that he had ſeized him, he demanded that he ſhould undergo the queſtion, both about the depoſitum, and the crime which we were accuſed of. But Paſio arrived at that pitch of arrogance, that he reſcued him as a free perſon; nor bluſhed to affirm his freedom, who he had ſaid was carried away by us into ſlavery, and from whom we had ſo much money, and hindered him from being tortured. But this is the moſt grievous of all; Menexenus offering to Polemarchus ſecurity for producing the boy, Paſio gave a ſecurity of ſix talents, as for a free perſon. Let the witneſſes of theſe facts appear.

Witneſſes.

THESE things having been done thus, and judging that he was manifeſtly liable to condemnation for what had paſſed, he ſtill imagined by what remained, he could correct all; and he came to us, ſaying, he was ready to deliver the boy to torture: and chooſing examiners, we came to the temple of Vulcan. I deſired the officers to laſh him, and torture him, until he ſeemed to ſpeak the truth. But Paſio ſaid, that he had not choſen them as public torturers; and ordered, that they ſhould aſk the youth in words whatever they pleaſed. While we quarrelled, the inquiſitors ſaid, they would not apply tortures to the youth; but they decreed, it was but juſt Paſio ſhould deliver the boy to me. But he was ſo afraid of his torturing, that he would not obey them in the delivery of the boy; but ſaid, he was ready to pay all the money, if they condemned him. Call the witneſſes of theſe facts.

Witneſſes.

WHEN after theſe meetings, O judges! all condemned him of injuſtice, and of acting iniquitouſly; in the firſt place, for ſaying, that the boy, who I had declared knew of the money, and whom he had hidden himſelf, was concealed

cealed by us; then, when he was found, for preventing him, as being free, from ſuffering the torture; afterwards, when he had given him up as a ſlave, and had choſen torturers, for ordering him verbally to be tortured, but, in fact, forbidding it. On this account, judging that he ſhould not have a poſſibility of an eſcape, if he ſhould be brought before you, by a meſſenger he deſired I would meet him at the temple. When we were met in the citadel, covering his head, he burſt into tears, and ſaid, he had made a denial of my money, being urged by poverty; but that he would endeavour to repay me in a ſmall time. He begged of me that I would pardon him, and hide his calamity, leſt he, who was accuſtomed to receive depoſitums, ſhould be convicted of having done ſuch things. I thinking he repented of his actions, granted this, and bid him find out his own methods, whereby affairs might be made up eaſily, and I receive my money. Three days after, meeting again, we pledged our faith, that what had been done ſhould be ſuppreſſed in ſilence (which faith he kept, as you ſhall hear in ſucceeding diſcourſe); and he promiſed he would ſail into Pontus, and pay the gold there, that he might diſcharge his agreement as far off as poſſible, nor any one here know the terms of our reconciliation, and that he having undertaken a foreign voyage, might ſay publicly what he pleaſed. But if he did not do this, he would grant, upon certain conditions, an arbitration to Satyrus, whereby he might condemn him to the penalty of the entire ſum, and an half more. When we had mutually written this, and had met in the citadel, Satyrus the Pheræan, who was accuſtomed to ſail to Pontus, we gave him our contracts to keep, ordering him, ſhould we be reconciled, to burn the writing; but if not, to deliver it to Satyrus. And our affairs, O judges! paſſed in this manner. But Menexenus being provoked for the crime alledged to him in part by Paſio, had recourſe to juſtice, and demanded Cittus, requiring, that the ſame fine ſhould be laid on the forgery of Paſio, which he muſt have ſuffered himſelf, had he been con-

convicted of such actions. But Pasio, O judges! begged of me to appease Menexenus, saying, his case would be no better, should he, according to agreement, go into Pontus, and pay the money, and yet be exposed no less to derision here; for, he added, should the youth be tortured, he would declare the whole truth. But I desired he would transact with Menexenus what he pleased, and perform his covenant to me. At this time he was humble, not knowing how he should manage in his present straights; for he was not afraid only about questioning the boy, and the charge lodged against him, but for the writing, lest Menexenus should happen to come at it. Being filled with these doubts, nor finding any other remedy, by persuading the sailors, he corrupts the writing which Satyrus was to have received, unless he satisfied me. He had no sooner done this, but he became a most audacious fellow; and said he would sail with me into Pontus; and that there was no covenant betwixt us, ordering the writing to be opened before witnesses. Why should I detain you with many words, O judges! There was found in the writing, that he was freed from all engagements with me. Now I have recited all that happened, as exactly to you as I possibly could. But I believe, O judges! that Pasio will defend himself by corrupted accounts, and particularly trust to that resource. Do you therefore be attentive to me; for I judge I shall be able, even from them, to make evident his improbity. First, reflect upon this: when we gave our agreement to the stranger, by which, he pretends, he is freed from all my demands, I still affirm, I ought, even by it, to receive my gold; for both ordered the stranger, should we be agreed, to burn the writing; but if not, to give it to Satyrus: and it is allowed, that this was spoken by both. Now, with what view, O judges! did we bid him give the writing to Satyrus, except we were reconciled, if Pasio was already free from my demands, and the affair was concluded? But it is evident that we had made this agreement, as the affair was yet unfinished; and he must satisfy me,

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according to our mutual accounts. Beſides, O judges! I can give the reaſon why he promiſed he would reſtore the gold; for ſeeing that we were freed from accuſations to Satyrus, and that he could not conceal Cittus, who was conſcious of the depoſitum, judging, ſhould the youth be given up to torture, that he would be found out to have had a malicious intention, and if he did not do it, that he muſt loſe his cauſe, he therefore reſolved to determine the affair with me. Aſk of him, what gain I had in view, or what danger I was afraid of, that I freed him from all proſecution? But if he can ſhew nothing of this nature to you, why ſhould you not rather truſt to me, than him, about our accounts? For it was eaſy for me, O judges! as you muſt perceive, was I apprehenſive I might be refuted about what I accuſed him of, to have dropped, without any agreement, the whole affair; but it was impoſſible for him, both on account of the queſtion put to the boy, as well as the charge brought before you, to be freed when he pleaſed from trouble, unleſs he pacified me, who had accuſed him. Wherefore it did not concern me to be freed, but him to make agreement for payment. Beſides, this would be abſurd, if, before our accounts were written out, I was ſo diffident of my caſe, that I did not only free Paſio from all pleas, but likewiſe entered into a covenant about it; yet, when I had written a teſtimony againſt myſelf, I then would come before you: but who would thus act in his own affair? This is one of the ſtrongeſt arguments of all, that Paſio was not acquitted by agreement, but had promiſed that he would pay the gold; for when Menexenus had commenced a ſuit againſt him, while the writing was not corrupted, having ſent Agyrius to us, who is familiar to both, he begged, that I would appeaſe Menexenus, or annul the covenant with himſelf. But can you think, O judges! that he would deſire that covenant to be made void, whereby he might prove us both guilty of falſity? When the writing was changed, he did not then uſe the ſame words, but appealed to the covenant, and ordered the writing to be opened.

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That he at firſt deſired the writings to be annulled, I will produce Agyrius for witneſs. Come up.

The witneſs.

Now I judge it is ſufficiently evident to you, that we made a covenant, not as Paſio pretends, but as I have told you. It is not to be wondered, O judges! if he adulterated the writing, not only becauſe many ſuch things have already been done, but becauſe ſome of thoſe, who are familiar with Paſio, have committed far more grievous things; for who knows not that Pythodorus, who is wont to ſay or do any thing for Paſio, the foregoing year opened the urns, and took out thence the judges names, which had been thrown in by the ſenate? But if a perſon dared, for a trifling gain, at the peril of his life, to open theſe, which were ſealed by the conſuls, ædiles, and queſtors, and were kept in the citadel, what wonder is it if they changed the writings left with a ſtranger, when they were to gain by it ſuch a ſum of money, whether by corrupting his men, or any other ſtratagem? I do not know there is need of ſaying more on this ſubject.

Now, Paſio has endeavoured to perſuade ſome, that I had no money at all here; ſaying, I borrowed of Stratocles three hundred ſtateres. It is therefore worth while that you ſhould hear of this, that you may know, in reliance upon what arguments he defrauds me of my money: for I, judges, when Stratocles was ſailing into Pontus, having a mind to tranſport as much money thence as I could, aſked of Stratocles that he would leave his gold with me, and receive it again in Pontus of my father; thinking I ſhould have a conſiderable advantage if my money was in no danger by the voyage; eſpecially as the Lacedæmonians were at that time maſters of the ſea. I therefore think this is no ſign that I had no money; but I hope thoſe things will be moſt firm proofs, that I had money with Paſio, which was tranſacted with Stratocles; for Stratocles aſking who would repay him his money, if my father did not perform what was mentioned in the letters, or he, returning hither, ſhould not find me, I brought Paſio into converſation with him;

him; and he ſaid, he would, in that caſe, give him both principal and intereſt. But, had there been nothing of mine depoſited with him, do you think he would have been ſuch a ready ſecurity for ſo much money? Let the witneſſes come forth.

The witneſſes.

PERHAPS, O judges! he will produce witneſſes, that I denied, before the agents of Satyrus, that I had any thing beſides what I had delivered to them; and that he had ſeized my goods on my own confeſſion, that I owed him three hundred drachmaes; and had permitted Hippolaides, my gueſt and friend, to borrow of him. I indeed, O judges! reduced to thoſe difficulties which I have mentioned, and ſpoiled of what I had at home, and forced to give up to thoſe who were come hither what I had here, upon conſideration that nothing would be left me, if I did not conceal ſomething, I deny it not, that he retaining the gold which was truſted with him, I confeſſed, that I owed him beſides three hundred drachmaes; and, in other reſpects, I ſo acted and ſpoke, as, I thought, would moſt eaſily perſuade them that I had nothing here. You will eaſily underſtand, that this was not done by me out of poverty; but that I might gain credit with them. In the firſt place, I will produce you witneſſes, who know that I brought with me many riches from Pontus; then thoſe who ſaw me uſe his exchange-table; thoſe beſides, with whom, at the ſame time, I changed above a thouſand ſtateres. Add to this, that a tribute being laid, and other orders given, I and mine contributed the moſt of all ſtrangers: and I ſubſcribed my name to the largeſt contribution; but apologiſed to the queſtors for Paſio, becauſe he uſed my money. Let the witneſſes of this ſtand forth.

Witneſſes.

BUT I will ſhew Paſio giving the ſame teſtimony to theſe actions with others. A certain perſon declared a ſhip of burden, on board of which I had put a great many goods, to belong to one of Delos; I contending for the contrary, and requiring that it ſhould be brought into port, they who

love

love to calumniate, ſo diſpoſed the ſenate, that I had almoſt been ruined without a hearing of my cauſe. But at length they were perſuaded to take ſecurities for me; and Philip indeed, my father's gueſt, being ſent for, and appearing, frighted with the greatneſs of the danger, withdrew himſelf. But Paſio procured for me Archeſtratus the banker as ſecurity, who was bound for me in the penalty of ſeven talents; but had he been in danger of loſing but a ſmall matter, and known I had nothing here, he certainly would never have been my ſecurity for ſo great a ſum. Now, it is evident, that, to gratify me, he had demanded of me three hundred drachmaes; but became thus reſponſor for ſeven talents, becauſe he thought he had a ſufficient pledge in his own hands, the gold which was depoſited with him. I have therefore proved, that I had a large ſum of money here, and that it was depoſited in his bank, by Paſio's actions, and you have heard it from thoſe who were privy to it.

It ſeems to me, O judges! that you will beſt comprehend what we contend about, if you remember thoſe times, and in what ſituation our affairs were, when I ſent Menexenus and Philomelus to require the depoſitum, and Paſio for the firſt time dared to deny it; for you will find, that my father was then ſpoiled of all, and caſt into priſon; and that it was not then permitted me to ſtay here, or ſail into Pontus. Now, which is more probable, that I, plunged in ſo many calamities, ſhould have accuſed him unjuſtly, or that he, on account of the greatneſs of my misfortunes, or of the largeneſs of the ſum, was tempted and puſhed on to the commiſſion of ſuch a piece of fraud? For who ever arrived at that pitch of calumny, that while he was in danger of his own life, he would lay ſnares for the life of others? But with what hopes, or with what view, could I be an unjuſt aggreſſor? What! hoping that, out of fear of my power, he would immediately pay the money! But this could not be ſo. Or did I think, by bringing him unjuſtly before court, I ſhould have the advantage in your favour over him? I, who was preparing to be gone, for fear Satyraus ſhould demand me of you. What! was it, that,

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tho' I ſhould gain nothing by it, I would make him my enemy, whoſe friendſhip I had uſed above any others in he city? Will any one amongſt you condemn me of ſuch madneſs or ignorance?

IT is worth while, O judges! to conſider the abſurdity and incredibility of thoſe things, which Paſio endeavours to advance; for, when I was in ſuch circumſtances, that had he confeſſed he had defrauded me of money, I could not then have proſecuted my right, at that time he accuſed me of bringing an unjuſt ſuit againſt him: but after I was freed from accuſations to Satyrus, and all men thought he would be convicted in judgment, he aſſerts, that I had freed him from any claim of mine whatſoever. Now, what can be imagined more abſurd than theſe things? But not only in theſe regards, but in other things, he evidently appears to ſpeak and act in contradiction to himſelf, who has ſaid, the boy was carried into foreign places by us, whom he had concealed himſelf, and, when a poll was taken, had written him down a ſlave with his other ſervants; but, when Menexenus required he ſhould be tortured, he forced him from us, as if he had been a free perſon: beſides, tho' he had defrauded me, he dared to accuſe us of having ſix talents, which we received at his counting-table. But how is it fitting to believe him for what he tranſacted with me in private, when he endeavours ſo openly to lye in what is manifeſt? Laſtly, O judges! having promiſed to ſail to Satyrus, and do what he decreed, in this likewiſe he deceived me; for he refuſed himſelf to ſail, tho' I often required him; but he ſent Cittus, who being come thither, ſaid, he was a free man; by his race a Mileſian; and that Paſio had ſent him to inform him about the controverted money. But Satyrus having heard both of us, would not give his judgment of contracts made here; eſpecially as Paſio was not preſent, nor diſpoſed to do what he ſhould decree. But he judged I ſuffered ſuch a ſignal injury, that calling the ſailors, he deſired of them to aſſiſt me, nor permit I ſhould be ſo wronged; and writing a letter, he gave it to be delivered to Zenotimus the ſon of Carcinus. Read it.

The letter.

AND now, tho', O judges! my cauſe is ſo equitable, I think this the ſtrongeſt teſtimony that Paſio defrauded me of money, becauſe he would not give up the boy to torture: and what proof can be greater than the torture, in regard of ſuch contracts with bankers? for witneſſes are not uſed in dealing with them. I likewiſe ſee you, both in private and public affairs, think nothing more deſerving of credit, or truer, than confeſſions in torture; for that it ſo may happen, that witneſſes may be ſubborned to things that were never done: but that tortures evidently ſhew who ſpeaks truth; which he well knowing, choſe rather that you ſhould judge by conjecture, than be better informed. For he cannot pretend this, that if the queſtion had been put to the boy, he would have had the diſadvantage; and that therefore he would not deliver the youth up: for you all perceive, that if he ſaid any thing againſt Paſio, the boy would, all the remainder of his life, periſh by degrees in the moſt cruel manner; but did he perſevere, that he would be made free, and partaker of the other's fraud: yet though Paſio was to have had ſuch an advantage, being conſcious of what he had done, he ventured to decline the judgment, and undergo more accuſations, that no examination by torture might be made into this affair.

I THEREFORE beſeech you, that remembring theſe things, you will condemn Paſio, nor judge me guilty of ſo great improbity, as that living in Pontus, and poſſeſſing ſuch riches, and in a capacity of benefiting others, I am come hither to calumniate Paſio, and accuſe him falſly of violating his truſt. It is likewiſe juſt you ſhould have a regard to Satyrus and my father, who at all times eſteemed you preferably to all other Greeks, and often have granted you to export corn, when they ſent away the ſhips of others unladen; and, in private judicatures, you have not only equal law amongſt us, but even ſuperiority in your favour. I therefore beſeech you, both on my own account, as well as theirs, to decree juſtice; nor believe the falſe oration of Paſio truer than mine.

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THE EIGHTEENTH ORATION OF ISOCRATES: ENTITLED, Againſt CALLIMACHUS.

The SUBJECT.

LYSANDER, the Lacedæmonian general, having conquered the Athenians at Ægoſpotomi, took their city, demoliſhed its walls, and changed the democracy into an oligarchy: he appointed thirty magiſtrates for the government of the city, who afterwards, on account of their cruelty, were called tyrants, and a ſedition ariſing, were made private men again by Thraſybulus. After the troubles of the city were ſettled, he made a law for the oblivion of injuries, which had been done in former times by both parties. A certain perſon, therefore, being accuſed by a ſycophant called Callimachus, of having in thoſe times extorted money from him, the other denies any ſuit ſhould be commenced againſt him for actions done in thoſe times; and, in the ſecond place, proves, that if Callimachus might plead, yet that no injury had been done him; and offers to demonſtrate it, declining all advantages of the paſſed law.

THE EIGHTEENTH ORATION of ISOCRATES: ENTITLED, Againſt CALLIMACHUS.

IF any other had pleaded in a like cauſe, I would have taken my exordium from the ſubject. But there is now a neceſſity I ſhould ſpeak of the law, by which we come for judgment; that being informed about what we contend, you may give your ſuffrages. Let no one of you admire, that I, who am accuſed, ſpeak before the accuſer; for after you returned from the Pyræum into the city, you ſaw ſome of the citizens excited to calumny, and endeavouring to break the covenants. Having a mind therefore to reſtrain theſe, and ſhew to others, that you had not done theſe things by compulſion, but becauſe you judged them beneficial to the city, Archinus propoſing it, you enacted a law, "that if any, contrary to oath, ſhould commence a "ſuit, it ſhould be permitted the accuſed to uſe the plea of "tranſlation of the cauſe; and that the prætors ſhould, the "firſt opportunity, propoſe the cauſe; and that he who "uſed the fore-mentioned plea, ſhould ſpeak in the firſt "place; and whoever loſt his cauſe, ſhould pay a fine: "that thoſe who endeavoured to recal to mind old injuries, "ſhould not only be convicted of perjury, or expect only "puniſhment from the gods, but likewiſe be puniſhed on "the ſpot." I therefore thought it unjuſt, when the law

ran thus, to ſuffer the calumniator to begin a ſuit againſt me at the peril only of thirty drachmaes, while I muſt be brought into the danger of all my ſubſtance. But I will ſhew, that Callimachus does not only commence this ſuit againſt the agreements, but is guilty of falſity in his accuſations; and that there has already paſſed betwixt us an arbitration. I will explain to you from the beginning how things were done; for if you know this, that he has ſuffered no evil from me, I judge you will the more willingly defend the amneſty, and be more incenſed againſt him.

The Decemviri governed, who ſucceeded the thirty tyrants: Patrocles being my friend, who then reigned, I happened to be walking with him. Now, he who was an enemy to Callimachus, who proſecutes me, met him as he was carrying money. Having a mind to extort it from him, he told him he ſhould keep his money; but on condition he would appropriate it to the public: but while they were contending about this, and abuſive words aroſe betwixt them, many others ran up to us, and by chance Oinon, one of the Decemviri, came likewiſe. Patrocles therefore immediately referred to him the determination about the money; but he carried both of them before his collegues; and they referred the whole affair to the ſenate. A judgment being given, the money was declared to belong to the public. But afterwards, when the exiles were returned from the Piræus, he accuſed Patrocles, and lodged a ſuit againſt him, as the cauſe of his calamity. But when he had made the matter up with him, and had extorted from him ten minaes, he accuſed Lyſimachus. Having likewiſe received from him two hundred drachmaes, he gave me trouble. And, firſt, he accuſed me, ſaying, that I had aſſiſted them. At length he arrived at that pitch of impudence, that he accuſed me of all that had been done, which, perhaps, he will dare to calumniate me of at preſent. But I will produce you witneſſes; firſt, ſuch as were preſent from the beginning, that I neither took or touched the money; then the collegues, who will ſay, that it was Patro-

cles,

cles, and not I, who had referred the affair to them, that they might paſs their ſentence; beſides the ſenators, who will ſay he was the accuſer. Call the witneſſes of theſe things.

Witneſſes.

THO' ſo many were preſent at theſe actions, yet, as if no one had been, he mixed himſelf with crowds, and ſitting in ſhops, made diſcourſes, as if he had ſuffered grievous injuries from me, and had been deprived of his money. Some of thoſe who were his friends coming to me, perſuaded me to end the controverſy with him, nor chuſe to be defamed, nor hazard by it a great ſum, altho' I might truſt much in my cauſe; adding, many things happen in judgmen contrary to expectation; and that the cauſes which are brought before you, are rather determined by fortune than equity: wherefore, they ſaid, it was better for me, at a ſmall expence, to be freed from a heavy charge, than that tho' I ſhould pay nothing, yet once to be brought into danger about things of ſuch moment. Why ſhould I in particular mention to you thoſe things? Moſt of them I have omitted, which are wont to be ſaid on ſuch an occaſion. I was therefore perſuaded (for I will confeſs to you all the truth) to give him two hundred drachmaes; but, leſt he ſhould endeavour again to calumniate, we committed the arbitration, under certain conditions, to Nicomachus the Batenſian.

Witneſſes.

AND at firſt he kept his agreement; but afterwards he machinated a new fraud, with Xenotimus, who adulterates writings, corrupts judgments by bribery, gives trouble to the magiſtrates, and is the author of all manner of evils; and thus lodges againſt me a ſuit of ten thouſand drachmaes: but when I had produced witneſſes that the ſuit could not be carried on, becauſe an arbitration had interceded, he did not continue that action; for he knew, that ſhould he have but the fifth part of the ſuffrages, he muſt pay the fine. But when he had won over the magiſtracy, he again lodged the ſame charge againſt me, as

being now in danger only of the ſportulæ, or a ſmaller fine. Being doubtful in theſe ſtreights what I ſhould do, I thought it moſt adviſeable to come before you, with equal danger to both. And theſe are the real facts, which I have related.

Now, I hear that Callimachus has not only a deſign of ſpeaking untruly about the crimes, but of denying the arbitration, and being ready of making ſuch a diſcourſe, that he never permitted an arbitration to Nicomachus, whom he knew to be our ancient friend; nor was it congruous that he would take two hundred drachmaes in lieu of ten thouſand. But do you reflect, that we permitted the arbitration to Nicomachus, not engaged together in a ſuit, but upon certain prudential conditions: wherefore it was no abſurdity in him to chuſe Nicomachus for arbitrator; but he would have done more abſurdly, if, after he had agreed about the matter, he had made difficulty about the arbitrator. Again, had ten thouſand drachmaes indeed been owing to him, it is not probable he would have accepted of two hundred to ſtop the proceedings: but ſeeing he unjuſtly calumniated and accuſed me, it is no wonder, if he was willing to accept ſo ſmall a ſum. Beſides, if after he had required a great deal, he accepted of a little, he cannot draw hence a firm argument in his own favour, that this arbitrator never was; but it is rather a certain proof, that he accuſed me unjuſtly from the beginning. But I wonder that he thinks he ſufficiently knows it is not probable he would accept two hundred drachmaes for ten thouſand, and yet imagines I could not have been cunning enough to ſay, had I been diſpoſed to ſpeak a falſity, that I had given him more. I deſire at leaſt, that as great an argument as it may ſeem that there was no arbitration, becauſe (as he ſays) he refuſed the money mentioned by the witneſſes, it may ſeem as great an argument in my favour, that I ſpeak the truth, becauſe it is certain he never laid any charge to the witneſſes; but I think, that if there neither was an arbitration, nor witneſſes of what was done, and you were only to conſider the affair by probabilities, that even ſo it would be no

difficult matter for you to find out the truth; for if I had even dared to have injured others, you might juſtly condemn me as if I had treſpaſſed againſt him: but I ſhall be found to have injured no one of the citizens in his money, or expoſed him to the danger of his life, or to have blotted out the names of any who were partakers of the government, or have inſcribed them in Piſander's catalogue. But the wickedneſs of the Thirty forced many to commit ſuch things; for they did not only give impunity to the flagitious, but even ordered ſome to commit crimes: but I ſhall be found clear of any ſuch actions, even under their government; yet, he ſays, he received an injury from me, when the Thirty were caſt out, the Piræus was taken, the people in power, and when diſcourſes were held of a pacification. Now, can it ſeem credible to you, that he who had behaved himſelf with moderation under the thirty tyrants, ſhould have deferred doing injury to theſe times, when it even repented thoſe who had tranſgreſſed before? But this is the greateſt abſurdity of all, if I would not then puniſh any of my enemies, but ſhould have attempted to injure thoſe now, betwixt whom and me there never had been any commerce. Now, I judge I have ſufficiently demonſtrated, that I was not the cauſe of Callimachus his money being confiſcated.

BUT you will underſtand, that tho' I had done all thoſe things at that time which he has alledged to me, he could not ſtill, by the public covenant, cauſe me a law-ſuit. Read the codex.

The covenant.

HAVE I then, with ſmall plea in law, put in my exception to his proſecution? Have I not rather the ſtrongeſt right, ſince the treaties openly acquit thoſe who accuſed any one, or brought him before a magiſtrate, or did any thing of a like nature? Whereas I can prove, that I have neither done ſo, nor tranſgreſſed in any thing elſe. Read me the oath.

The oath.

Is not this atrocious, when the treaties are of this nature, and such an oath has been taken, that Callimachus should so rely upon his eloquence, as to persuade himself he can prevail upon you to decree the contrary? And indeed, did he see the city repent of what has been done, it would not be reasonable for any one to wonder at him. Now, you have not only shewn, by the enaction of a law, that you highly esteem the treaties; but you have thought proper to dismiss Philo the Cælæan, who was accused of a false embassy, tho' he had nothing to plead in his defence, but the treaties; nor would you pass judgment on him: and the city even does not think it proper to inflict punishment on those who acknowledge their misdeeds; but this man dares to calumniate those who have done nothing amiss. Nor is this concealed from him, that Thrasybulus and Anytus, who at that time particularly flourished in the city, and were spoiled of a great deal of money, and knew the prevaricators who had proscribed their goods, dare not lodge a prosecution against them, nor make mention of the injuries. But altho', in other respects, they can effect more than others, yet, in what regards the treaties, they judge it equitable that they should have the same law as their fellow-citizens; nor have they only thought so, but no one amongst you has dared to begin such an action. Now, it would be unjust that you should keep your oath in your own regard, and yet violate it for the sake of Callimachus, and, by public authority, cause private contracts to be ratified, and yet suffer any one to break thro' the city's covenants. But this would be the most wonderful of all, if, while it was doubtful whether this reconciliation would be beneficial to the city, or not, you took such an oath about it, that there should be a necessity of standing to the agreement; but that after it succeeded so well, that tho' there had been no security given, yet it would be reasonable that you should preserve the present state of the republic, you should now violate your solemn engagement; and if you are incensed at those who say you ought to annul your covenants, and yet

let

let him pass with impunity who has dared to transgress them when written. You would, by this means, neither act justly, nor do what is agreeable to your former decrees. Reflect likewise, that you are assembled to judge of things of the highest importance; for you will give your suffrages about the public treaties, which it never benefitted you to have violated in respect of others, or others in respect of you. Now, they have that force, that most things which are done in human life, both amongst the Greeks and Barbarians, are transacted by covenants; for by relying on them, we approach one another, and have mutual commerce in regard of what we want; by them we make contracts betwixt ourselves, and compose private quarrels, and mutual wars; and all mankind use this method continually, as an universal good: wherefore it is proper for all to maintain treaties, and for us particularly; for of late, when we were conquered in war, and brought under the power of our enemy, many being desirous of ruining our city, we had recourse to oaths and covenants, which should the Lacedæmonians violate, there is none of us but would be filled with indignation. But how can any one accuse another for what he is guilty of himself? To whom should we seem to suffer injustice, if we should be, contrary to covenants, ill-treated, if we appear to have no regard for them ourselves? Or what credit shall we gain with others, if we so rashly break through the faith that has been mutually interchanged amongst ourselves? It is likewise worthy of consideration, that tho' many and noble things have been done by our ancestors in war, yet our city is not, in the least degree, rendered famous for this reconciliation; for we shall find many cities to have fought bravely, but no one to have better consulted public concord and agreement. Besides, we may ascribe the greatest part of those things, which are done with danger, to fortune; but no one can imagine any thing else to have been the cause of our moderation amongst ourselves, but our prudence: wherefore it is no ways just that we should be betrayers of this glory.

Nor

Nor let any one think, that I exceed reaſon, or ſpeak more than truth, becauſe I have ſaid this in my private cauſe. This action is not brought againſt me alone, but againſt you, by what has been lately ſaid before, for which no one can ſpeak ſuitable to the occaſion, nor appoint a ſufficient fine; for this diſpute differs from all others in this, that it does not only concern thoſe who diſpute, but the whole community. You are to determine about this, obliged by two oaths; the one ſuch as you take in common affairs, but the other ſuch as you take in a public treaty. If you judge wrong in this caſe, you will not only violate the laws of the city, but violate the common law of all nations: wherefore it becomes you the leaſt of all, neither to paſs that judgment by favour, by lenity, or any thing elſe, but your own ſolemn agreement about the caſe in queſtion: I ſay, it is both becoming for you, expedient, and juſt, that you ſhould ſo decree about the covenant; nor do I think, that Callimachus himſelf can deny it.

I JUDGE, that he will deplore his preſent indigence, and the calamity which has befallen him; and ſay, that he has ſuffered cruel injuſtice, if, for that money which he was deprived of in the oligarchy, he ſhould pay a fine in the democracy; and that if he was then, for his wealth, forced into baniſhment, he ſhould now, when he ought to take puniſhment of others, be rendered ſcandalous. He will accuſe thoſe actions which have been done in the change of the republic, hoping thereby to raiſe your indignation. Perhaps he has heard ſuch a report, that, when you cannot find the guilty, you puniſh the innocent. I neither think you of ſuch a diſpoſition, nor do I think it in the leaſt difficult to anſwer the fore-mentioned diſcourſes. As for what regards moving lamentations, I affirm, you ought not to aſſiſt thoſe who ſhew themſelves to be miſerable, but thoſe who ſpeak what ſeems more equitable about what they have ſwore. But as for the fine, was I the author of theſe things, you would deſervedly condole with him, was he to ſuffer a penalty; but he himſelf is the very perſon who calumniates another:

another: wherefore you cannot in juſtice approve any thing while he alone ſpeaks it. Then, you ought to conſider this, that all thoſe who returned from the Piræus, may hold the ſame diſcourſe as he, none of whom commenced ſuch a ſuit. Now, you ought to hate thoſe, and think them bad citizens, who have ſuffered the ſame calamities as the multitude, but would take a peculiar and different revenge. Beſides, it is yet permitted him, before he runs the hazard of your ſentence, by dropping the ſuit, to be free from all trouble; and how can it be otherwiſe than abſurd to deſire pity from you in his danger, which is entirely in his own power, into which he caſts himſelf, and which it is now in his option to avoid? But if he calls to mind what was done in the oligarchy, require of him not to bring his accuſation of ſuch things as none will give an anſwer to; but prove to you that I took his money, about which you are to paſs your ſentence: nor ſhew that he has undergone unworthy treatment; but demonſtrate me to have been the cauſe, and that therefore he thinks it juſt to recover damage of me: for ſhould he litigate with any other citizen, he might dwell on his hard circumſtances; but thoſe accuſations ſhould not have weight with you, which may be laid againſt thoſe who have done nothing amiſs; but ſuch as cannot be made but of ſuch as have done injuſtice. Wherefore, to refute his allegation hitherto, perhaps theſe things may ſuffice, and I ſhall have an opportunity of ſpeaking ſhortly more.

But reflect (tho' I may ſeem to ſome to handle twice the ſame topic) that a great many will be attentive to this judgment, not heeding my affair, but thinking ſentence is to be given of the whole league, whom you will cauſe to dwell in the city with ſafety, if you decree juſtly; but if otherwiſe, what courage do you think theſe will have, who ſtay in the city, if you ſeem alike angry with all who have been partakers of this republic? And what ſecurity will they think themſelves in, who are conſcious to themſelves of even a ſmall crime, when they ſee, that thoſe who have behaved

behaved themselves with moderation, cannot obtain common equity? What tumults are these not to be expected, when some are excited to calumniate, as if you had decreed such things in their favour; and others fear the present state of the city, as if there was no refuge for them in it? Is it not to be apprehended, lest the oath being violated, we again fall into those calamities, on account of which we made this league? It certainly is not necessary you should learn from others what a good is concord, and what an evil is discord; for you have experienced both in so great a degree, that you may, even in the perfectest manner, teach others these truths.

But that I may not seem to continue a long time upon the topic of covenants, because it is easy to say many and just things about them, I only desire you will remember this one thing when you give sentence, viz. that before they were concluded, we made war together, some of us inhabiting the circuit of the city, and others having seized on the Piræus, having a greater hatred of one another than of those who were left us hereditary enemies by our ancestors; but no sooner had we pledged our faith to one another, than re-uniting, we so humanely and civilly lived together in the city, as if no dissention had ever happened amongst us: and that before, all thought us the most foolish and miserable of mankind; but we now seem the most prudent and happy of the Greeks: wherefore it is just to punish those who break through our league, not only with these punishments, but with the extremest, as being authors of the greatest evils; especially such as have lived like Callimachus, who, tho' the Lacedæmonians carried on war with us for ten years without intermission, yet gave in his name to no captain to be ranked in battle with his fellow-citizens; but he continued in that time to abscond, and hide his riches. But when the Thirty were established, having returned to the city in a ship, he calls himself popular. Though he was so much the more desirous than others of sharing in their government, that tho' he was ill-

treated,

treated, yet he would not depart, and was so far from it, that he suffered himself to be shut up in a siege with those who had injured him, than live with you who had been injured by them, and continued partaker of their republic to the very day that you were going to attack the walls; and he came forth, not because he hated the then state of government, but because he feared the imminent danger, as he afterwards declared: for when the people were again shut up in the Piræus, by the invasion of the Lacedæmonians, escaping thence, he sojourned amongst the Bœotians: wherefore he ought rather to be numbered with renegadoes, than be called one of the exiles. And tho' he has been such a man both towards those who returned from the Piræus, as well as those who remained in the city, he is not content to be on an equal footing of law with others, but seeks a better condition than yours, as if he alone was injured, or was the best of citizens, or had suffered the greatest calamities on your account, or had been the author of the greatest benefits to the city. I would have you know him as well as I do, that you may not condole with him for what he has lost, but rather regret what he has still remaining.

Now, should I mention his other actions, how many he has laid snares for, against how many he has begun suits and written actions, with whom he has conspired, and against whom he has given false witness, this hour-glass, were it twice as large, would not suffice me; but when you have only heard one more action of his, you will easily conceive the rest of his improbity. Cratinus had a suit with his kinsman about a farm; a battle happening betwixt them, hiding a female servant, they accused Cratinus of having broke her skull; and after having asserted the woman was dead of the wound, they brought an action against him in the Palladium. Cratinus having heard of their ambush, continued quiet, lest they might change the affair, or invent some other crimes, and that their villainy might not be proved by the very facts. As the accuser was his relation,

tion, and he had witneſſed before you, that the woman was dead, they who were friends to Cratinus, entering by force the houſe, and ſeizing her, brought her into court, and preſented her alive before all; ſo that there being ſeven hundred judges, and fourteen of them giving ſentence, he had not ſo much as one ſuffrage. Call the witneſſes of theſe things.

Witneſſes.

WHO therefore can ſufficiently excuſe thoſe things which were done by him? or who find an example of more flagrant improbity, injuſtice, and calumny? Some injuſtices do not diſcloſe all the diſpoſition of the delinquents; but it is eaſy to comprehend mens whole lives by ſuch horrid actions: for what villainy will they abſtain from, who will aſſert the living to be dead? Or, if a man be wicked for another's intereſt, what would he not do for his own? And how can any one believe this man, when he ſpeaks for himſelf, who is convicted of having perjured himſelf for another? For who ever was more clearly proved to have given a falſe witneſs? You judge of others by what is ſaid to refute them; but the judges ſaw with their own eyes the falſity of this man's teſtimony; and will he dare, after having been guilty of ſuch improbity, to accuſe us of falſity? acting juſt in ſuch a manner, as if Phrynondas ſhould object fraud, or Philergus, who ſtole the ſtatue of Gorgon, ſhould call others ſacrilegious; for whom can we imagine more likely to ſuborn falſe witneſſes, than he who dares to give a falſe teſtimony for others?

BUT it will be permitted often to accuſe Callimachus, he has led ſuch a life in the republic. As for what regards myſelf, I ſhall omit all my other public offices; but I will make mention of this, on account of which you ought not only to have gratitude to me, but may uſe it as a teſtimony of all my others; for when our city had loſt its ſhips in the Helleſpont, and was deprived of ſovereignty, I ſo far excelled moſt of the captains, that I, with a few, ſaved my ſhip; nay, ſo far ſurpaſſed them, that I alone returning

with

with my ſhip into the Piræus, did not lay down my commiſſion; but when others willingly evaded public offices, and deſpaired about the preſent ſtate of things, and it repented others of what they had expended; others hid what remained them, and thought that the public was ruined, and conſulted their own private intereſt; I had not the ſame ſentiments as they, but after I had perſuaded my brother, that he, along with me, would perform the office of trierarch, having paid the ſailors with our money, we infeſted the enemy. Laſtly, when Lyſander had decreed, that if any ſhould import corn to you, he ſhould be puniſhed with death, we were ſo affectionate to the city, that when others durſt not bring in their own corn, we, intercepting that which was carrying to them, brought it to the Piræus; for which benefits you decreed we ſhould be honoured with crowns, and be celebrated by heraldry before the ſtatues of Hercules, as authors of great and ſingular benefits.

But you ought to eſteem thoſe popular, who not only while the people enjoyed the power deſired to be partakers of the ſtate; but who, when the republic was afflicted, choſe to riſk their lives for you; and ought to be grateful, not becauſe a perſon has been calamitous, but becauſe he has done you ſignal benefits; and not pity ſuch as are become poor by loſing their ſubſtance, but ſuch as are ſo by having employed their money in your ſervice, one of whom I ſhall be found to be; who would be the moſt unhappy of all men, if, after having been at great expence for the ſtate out of my own private purſe, I ſhould ſeem now to lay ſnares for that of another man, and ſet light by ſuffering a a public ignominy before you, who not only will appear to have poſtponed my private fortune, but my very life, to be eſteemed and praiſed by you. Whom of you would it not grieve, if not immediately, yet in a ſhort time, if you ſhould ſee this calumniator become rich, but me deprived even of what I had left myſelf from expences in public offices; and that he who never would undergo any dangers for you, ſhould have more power than the laws and trea-

ties; and I, who was always ſo affectionate to the city, ſhould not be thought worthy of common equity! Who is there would not blame you, if perſuaded by the words of Callimachus, you ſhould condemn me of ſo great improbity, whom, after mature judgment from the facts themſelves, you crowned for bravery, when it was not ſo eaſy as now to obtain ſuch an honour? There is ſomething very different happens to me and others; for they renew the memory of thoſe who have received benefits; but I deſire that you would remember the benefits which you have conferred, that they may be a teſtimony to you of all my words and inſtitutes: for it is clear, that we did not render ourſelves worthy of this honour, that the oligarchy being eſtabliſhed, we might plunder the ſubſtance of others; but that the city being ſaved, both others might hold their own, and gratitude might be owing to us from the multitude of citizens: which we now deſire, not in a view of having more than our right, but declaring we have done no injury, but ſtand to public oaths and covenants; for it would be abſurd that they ſhould be ratified for thoſe who have injured others, and free them from dangers, and be made void for us, who have deſerved ſo well of the city. It is worth while to obſerve the ſtate of things, and to reflect, that covenants have been the cauſe that ſome cities have been vexed with ſeditions, but have been the cauſe that ours has enjoyed greater concord; which you remembring, ought to decree what is juſt and equitable.

THE

THE NINETEENTH ORATION OF ISOCRATES: ENTITLED, The ÆGINETIC.

The SUBJECT.

IT was called the Æginetic, from its being ſpoken in the iſland of Ægina, where this controverſy was brought before the judges. The queſtion is about the inheritance of one Thraſylochus, who adopted a friend who had deſerved particularly well of him, made him his heir, and gave him his ſiſter for wife. The baſtard-ſiſter of Thraſylochus puts in her claim of conſanguinity, demands the inheritance, and endeavours to invalidate the will; and relates her kind actions, and the friendſhip which ſhe had for Thraſylochus and his family.

THE NINETEENTH ORATION of ISOCRATES: ENTITLED, THE ÆGINETIC.

I THOUGHT, O men of Ægina! that Thraſylochus had taken ſuch prudent meaſures about his affairs, that no one would oppoſe his gifts by will: but ſince the adverſaries have the intention of contending for what he had ſo ſtrongly ratified, there is a neceſſity that we ſhould endeavour to obtain juſtice from you. And though I ſee others take it heavily to be brought upon any account unjuſtly into danger; I am almoſt diſpoſed to give them thanks that they have commenced this ſuit againſt me; for if the affair had not been brought before the judge, you would not have known after what merits I became the dead perſon's heir; but after the expoſition of all the facts, you will perceive, that I was worthy of a ſtill greater reward. Now, it would be but juſt, that ſhe who contends for theſe goods, ſhould not only endeavour to obtain Thraſylochus's ſubſtance, but ſhew, that ſhe is deſerving of ſucceeding to his inheritance, upon account of her behaviour to him; but ſhe is ſo far from repenting of what ſhe did againſt him in his life-time, that when he is dead, ſhe endeavours to make void his will, and ruin his family. I wonder if thoſe who plead for her think this ſtrife reputable, becauſe they are to pay nothing, tho' they be confuted; for I think this a great mulct, that perſons are convinced, by their unjuſt

pretenſions, of meditated improbity; and you will know their malice from the facts themſelves, when you have once heard them to the end.

I WILL begin from thoſe things, whereby, I judge, you will moſt quickly underſtand the ſtate of our queſtion. Thraſylochus, the father of him who conſtituted me heir by will, left no eſtate received from his anceſtors; but becoming a gueſt of Polemænetus the prophet, he lived with him ſo friendly, that this prophet, at his death, left him his books of divination, and gave him likewiſe a part of thoſe goods which now remain. Now, Thraſylochus having received ſuch advantages, uſed this art; and becoming a traveller, dwelt in ſeveral cities, and had intimacy with ſeveral women, ſome of whom had children, whom he never eſteemed legitimate; and in thoſe times took to him the mother of my adverſary: but after he had acquired great wealth, and deſired again his own country, he quitted both her and all the reſt; and having ſailed into Siphnos, he married my father's ſiſter, one of the chief amongſt the citizens for riches, knowing that our family excelled others in dignity and other precedencies. Now, he ſo vehemently loved the friendſhip of my father, that ſhe dying without children, he married again my father's couſin, becauſe he would not have that affinity diſſolved betwixt us; but when he had not long cohabited with her, the ſame fate attended her as the former. After this, he married a wife from Serippos, of parents more noble than might be expected in that iſland; from which marriage was born Sopolis, Thraſylochus, and my preſent wife: whereforé Thraſylochus judging thoſe his only legitimate children, having made them his heirs, finiſhed his life; but I and Thraſylochus having received ſo great a tranſmitted friendſhip from our parents, as I lately mentioned, made it ſtill greater than it was before. While we were ſtill boys, we eſteemed one another more than brothers; nor did we celebrate a ſacrifice, ſpectacle, or any other feſtival, ſeparate; but after we became men, we never acted any thing in oppoſition

to

to one another, but we communicated our private ſentiments, and were of the ſame diſpoſition in regard of the public. Why need I dwell longer on our domeſtic familiarity, when we could not be torn aſunder by baniſhment itſelf? But he falling into a conſumption, and being ſick a long time, his brother Sopolis being dead, and his mother and ſiſter not yet come, in the midſt of ſuch ſollicitude, I ſo well and diligently took care of him, that he thought he never could return me ſufficient gratitude; yet he omitted nothing to that purpoſe, but, being grievouſly tormented by his diſtemper, nor having any hopes of life, calling in witneſſes, he adopted me, and gave me his ſiſter, and all his ſubſtance. Take the will.

The will.

Recite me likewiſe the Æginetic law; for, according to it, the will muſt have been made, as we were come hither from our own country.

The law.

ACCORDING to this law, O men of Ægina! Thraſylochus made me his ſon, who was before his fellow-citizen and friend, and educated and brought up in the ſame manner as he himſelf: wherefore I do not ſee how he could have acted more by the law, which orders perſons of the ſame condition to be adopted. Take likewiſe the law of the Siphnians, by which we have been governed a long time.

The law.

IF indeed, O Æginetians! they had oppoſed thoſe laws while they had that of their own people on their ſide, it would have leſs deſerved wonder; but it is unanimous with the other. Take the book.

The book.

WHAT have they now to ſay, ſince they confeſs Thraſylochus left a will; and you ſee no law patronizes her's, but all of them my plea? In the firſt place, that law which prevails amongſt you, who are to judge; then the law of the Siphnians, amongſt whom he was born who made the will; laſtly, that which is in force amongſt thoſe,

who controvert the right with me. And what crime do you think thoſe would abſtain from, who endeavour to perſuade you, that you ought to render null a will, tho' the laws are in favour of it, and you have ſworn to judge by thoſe laws? Now, I think, as for the fact itſelf, I have ſufficiently demonſtrated all I deſire.

But leſt any one ſhould imagine, that I obtained the inheritance for ſlight reaſons, or that ſhe, tho' ſhe had behaved herſelf towards Thraſylochus as ſhe ought, was defrauded of his fortune, I will explain myſelf on theſe heads; for I ſhould be aſhamed for the dead, unleſs you all believe, that he has not only done this by law, but likewiſe, in the nature of the thing, juſtly. I think the proofs are ready; for they were ſo at variance, that this woman, who pleads her conſanguinity, continued always to carry on enormous diſputes with him, with Sopolis, and their mother: but I ſhall not only be found to have deſerved well in regard of Thraſylochus and his brother, but likewiſe in regard of the eſtate in controverſy, above all his other friends; tho' it will be troubleſome to ſpeak of things a long time paſſed; for when all the ſubſtance which he had ready and together, was lodged with my gueſts (for we judged that iſland the ſafeſt), others doubting, and believing the goods loſt, I paſſing by night in a veſſel, exported thoſe ſums, not without the hazard of my body; for the place was guarded by the king's garriſon, and ſome of our exiles had entered the city, who, in one day, ſlew with their own hands my father, uncle, and beſides thoſe, three couſins: but nothing of this deterred me, but I paſſed over in a ſhip, thinking I ought to undergo danger for them, as well as myſelf. Afterwards, when there was a general flight of the inhabitants from the city, with ſuch tumult and trepidation, that ſome deſerted friends and relations, even in ſuch calamities I did not think it ſufficient to ſave my domeſtics; but knowing Sopolis was abroad, and ſick, I carried off ſafe his mother, ſiſter, and all the riches with them. Now, who is it more

equitable

equitable ſhould poſſeſs them than he who then preſerved them, and has now received them from the owners?

And thoſe things I have now mentioned are ſuch, as in regard of which I ran hazards indeed, but received no harm; but I have ſtill to mention, that, by endeavouring to gratify him, I fell into the greateſt calamities: for when we were come to Melos, and he perceived we were to ſtay there, he begged of us that we would ſail to Træzene, and not leave him; mentioning the infirmity of his body, and the multitude of his enemies, and how, without me, he could determine nothing about his affairs. Tho' my mother was afraid, becauſe ſhe heard that place was unhealthy, and friends adviſed me to remain there, yet we judged proper to comply with him; and we no ſooner reached almoſt Træzene, but we were ſeized by diſtempers, and I had like to have periſhed: but as for my ſiſter, who was fourteen years old, I buried her within thirty days, and my mother not five days after. What muſt the diſpoſition of my mind be, do you think, upon ſuch a change in my life? who formerly was unexperienced in calamities, but lately had been forced into baniſhment, to be a ſojourner, and paſs without the aſſiſtance of my own wealth. Add to this, that I ſaw my mother and ſiſter driven from their country, and ending their lives in a foreign land, and amongſt ſtrangers: wherefore none can juſtly envy me, if I have received ſome benefit from the eſtate of Thraſylochus; for in a view of gratifying him, living abroad at Træzene, I was afflicted with ſuch calamities, as I ſhall never forget. But my enemies have not this to ſay of me, that while Thraſylochus was well, I underwent this, but, when he became burdenſome, I deſerted him. This they cannot ſay; for, in his adverſity, I ſhewed more evidently the love I had for him. After he went abroad to Ægina, and fell into that diſtemper of which he died, I took ſuch care of him, as I know not whether any other ever did of a friend; tho' he was very ill moſt of the time, not able to appear in public, and confined for ſix months to his bed; and none of his relations would

would be partakers of ſuch miſery, or even come to ſee him, except his mother and ſiſter, who increaſed the other calamity; for they came ſo ſick from Træzene, that they ſtood in need themſelves of a cure, and attendance. But tho' others proved ſuch towards him, I was never abſent, or wearied; but I watched by him, with one boy, during his illneſs, no one of the domeſtics being able to endure it; for being naturally moroſe, he became more ſo in his diſtemper: wherefore it is no wonder they would not continue in ſuch ſervice; but it is more to be wondered at, how I could ſuffice in attending him through ſo long a ſtage of ſickneſs, who laboured a long time under a conſumption, and could not be moved out of bed, and ſuffered ſo much, that we paſſed not one day without tears; but continued lamenting one another's labours, our exile, and daily ſollicitude: and this was never intermitted; nor could I go away any where, for fear of ſeeming to neglect him, which was more grievous to me than the preſent calamities. I wiſh I could make evident to you my behaviour towards him. Now, all the greateſt difficulties in attendance during ſickneſs, the particular troubles which have the moſt diſpleaſing tediouſneſs, and the cloſeſt care, cannot be conveniently mentioned; but do you conſider with yourſelves, what watchings and miſeries I muſt have ſuffered in ſo long a care and attendance during his illneſs; for I was ſo indiſpoſed myſelf, that all thoſe friends who came to viſit me, ſaid they were afraid leſt I ſhould periſh with him; and counſelled me to take care, for that many who had waited on perſons in ſuch a diſtemper, have died with them. To whom I anſwered, that I had far rather die, than let him die before his time for want of due care.

And tho' I was ſuch in his regard, dares this woman contend with me for his eſtate? ſhe, who did not once vouchſave to viſit him, tho' he was ſick ſo long a time, and ſhe daily heard how he did, and the journey was eaſy for her? Will ſhe attempt to call him by the name of brother? as if, the more familiarly they ſtile him now he is

dead,

dead, they will not ſeem to have committed the more atroce and heinous crimes againſt him. This woman, when he had ended his life, having ſeen as many of our citizens as were at Trœzene ſailing to Ægina, that they might bury him, came not even at that time; but behaved herſelf ſo cruelly and inhumanly, as not to deign to be at his burial; but, in leſs than ten days, ſhe came to begin a controverſy about his ſubſtance, as if ſhe had been not ſo much related to him as his money. But if ſhe will confeſs, that there was ſuch variance betwixt them, that ſhe did this juſtly, Thraſylochus did not imprudently conſult his own intereſt, if he choſe rather to leave his eſtate to friends, than to an enemy; or if, when there was no enmity betwixt them, ſhe was ſo negligent and wicked towards him, it is certainly more reaſonable that ſhe ſhould have been deprived of his goods, than to have been made his heir. But do you conſider in yourſelves, that, as much as it depended upon her, he neither would have had attendance nor a decent funeral; and that he had both by my means. Now, it becomes you to paſs your ſentence, not ſo much regarding if ſome ſay they are the neareſt relations to him, while in fact they were enemies, as conſidering thoſe, who, tho' they had not the name of relationſhip, yet behaved themſelves more friendly in calamities than relations themſelves.

THEY ſay, they do not deny that Thraſylochus left this will; but that it is not well and lawfully made. But, O men of Ægina! how could any man have with greater prudence conſulted about his affairs than he, who neither left his family deſtitute, nor neglected gratitude to his friends? who, beſides, made his mother and ſiſter poſſeſſors not only of his own, but of my eſtate likewiſe, having given me the one for wife, and, by adoption, made me the ſon of the other. Had he done more wiſely, if he had appointed no one to take care of his mother; had made no mention of me, but had truſted his ſiſter to fortune, and ſuffered his family to be deprived even of a name? But, perhaps, I was unworthy of being adopted by Thraſylo-

chus, and having his ſiſter in marriage. Now, all the Siphnians will witneſs, that my anceſtors were the chief of their citizens in nobility, riches, and honour. For who were judged worthy of more honourable magiſtracies? who conferred more on the city, more ſplendidly acquitted themſelves in their ædileſhips, or behaved more magnificently in other public offices? Wherefore Thraſylochus, tho' I had never ſpoken with him, would juſtly have given me his ſiſter; and I, tho' I had had none of theſe advantages, but had been the loweſt of the citizens, would, upon account of the benefits I did him, have been juſtly eſteemed worthy of the greateſt recompences. I believe, that he particularly gratified his brother Sopolis when he diſpoſed things in this manner; for he hated her, and thought her his enemy, while he eſteemed me the moſt of all his friends. He ſhewed this both in many other regards, and when it was agreed by the partners in exile, to endeavour, with the auxiliaries, to regain the city; for having been choſen leader with the greateſt power, he made me his ſecretary and his pay-maſter; and when we were going to give battle, he placed me by himſelf. And do you now conſider of what ſervice it was to him; for we having bad ſucceſs in the attack of Siphnos, and our retreat not being ſuch as we could wiſh, bearing him with a ſervant on my ſhoulders, after he was wounded, and began to faint, I brought him to the ſhip: wherefore he ſaid frequently, and before ſeveral, that I was the only man of all, who had ſaved his life. Now, what benefaction can be greater than this? Afterwards, when having ſailed to Lycia, he died there, this woman, a few days after the news of his death, ſacrificed, and had a feſtival; nor was aſhamed, tho' the brother of him was living, whoſe death ſhe ſo little regarded. But I lamented him, as is cuſtomary to mourn for relations; and I did all this by my own inclinations, and for the friendſhip I bore him, and not in fear of this judgment; for I did not think at that time, that both would die without children, and leave this eſtate to ſhew, how each of

us

us had behaved towards them. And you have almoſt ſufficiently heard how I and ſhe were affected towards Thraſylochus and Sopolis.

PERHAPS they will have recourſe to that pretence which remains them, that Thraſylochus, the father of this woman, will think it an atrocious injuſtice (if the dead have any ſenſe of what is done here), ſhould his daughter be deprived, and I rendered heir of what he had got together. But I judge it equitable, that we ſhould not reaſon from thoſe who have been a long time dead, but from thoſe who are lately ſo; for Thraſylochus (the father) left whom he choſe maſters of his eſtate. Now, it is juſt you ſhould allow Thraſylochus (the ſon) the ſame right; and that thoſe ſhould be conſtituted (not ſhe) his ſucceſſors, whom he appointed. Nor do I think we need decline the judgment of Thraſylochus himſelf; for, I ſuppoſe, he would be the ſevereſt judge of all againſt her, did he know her behaviour to his children, and would be far from reſentment that you give your ſentences according to the laws; but would reſent it highly did you make void the wills of his children: for had he transferred his riches to my family, they might have blamed him for it; but he has conferred them upon his own family in ſuch a manner, that they have not received leſs than he gave. Beſides, it is probable no one is leſs favourable to my adverſary's plea than Thraſylochus; for he learned his art from Polemætus the prophet, and was heir to his money, not on account of relationſhip, but of merit: wherefore he of all others will leaſt envy, if another, having well deſerved of his children, ſhould obtain the ſame benefit, which he himſelf was judged worthy of. You ſhould remember likewiſe thoſe things which were ſpoken in the beginning; for I ſhewed you there, that he ſo highly eſteemed our friendſhip and alliance, that he married my ſiſter and couſin. Now, to whom would he ſooner have given his daughter, than to that family, in which he married his own wife? And in what family would he more willingly have ſeen a ſon adopted according to law, than in

that

that, from which he would have had his own children derived? Wherefore, if you decree the inheritance mine, you will gratify him, and all whom his intereſt concerns; but, ſhould you be perſuaded and deceived by her, you will not only do me an injury, but Thraſylochus, who left the will, Sopolis, and his ſiſter, who lives with me, as well as his mother; who will be the moſt wretched of women, if ſhe is not only to be deprived of her children, but ſuffer this additional grief, to ſee their wills made null, her family deſerted, and this woman inſulting in her calamities, carry away the money from this judgment, and myſelf obtaining no equity, who have conferred ſo many benefits on thoſe who ſaved him: wherefore, if any one ſhould not conſider her, but thoſe who ever contended about a donation, I ſhall be found inferior in right to no one; and it is certain, that ſuch ought rather to be honoured, and greatly eſteemed, than have free gifts extorted from them. It is juſt likewiſe to defend the law, by which we are permitted to adopt children, and determine as we pleaſe of our own poſſeſſions, reflecting, that this law is to childleſs perſons inſtead of children. By this means, thoſe who are related, and thoſe who are not ſo, take more care of one another.

But to conclude, nor delay time any longer, conſider upon what juſt and equitable pretences I come before you. In the firſt place, my friendſhip for thoſe who have left the inheritance, which friendſhip was ancient, and handed down from our forefathers, and continued always. Secondly, thoſe many and great benefits which I conferred on the calamitous. Thirdly, the will acknowledged by the adverſaries. And, laſtly, the law, which ſeems to the Greeks juſtly eſtabliſhed: which this is the greateſt ſign of; for they think differently of other laws, but all think the ſame concerning this. I therefore beſeech you, that, for theſe reaſons, and thoſe given before, you will decree what is juſt, and be to me ſuch judges, as you would deſire others to be to yourſelves.

THE

THE TWENTIETH

ORATION

OF

ISOCRATES:

ENTITLED,

Againſt LOCHITES.

The SUBJECT.

A Certain perſon having been beaten by Lochites, he exaggerates the injury, and endeavours to perſuade the judges ſeverely to puniſh him, a contemner of the laws, and overturner of the popular ſtate. The beginning is abrupt, whereby we may judge it ſpoken in the ſecond place as a peroration. It is more like a youthful declamation than a pleading, on account of its frequent hyperboles.

THE TWENTIETH ORATION of ISOCRATES: ENTITLED, Againſt LOCHITES.

THAT Lochites firſt laid his wicked hands on me, and ſtruck me, all who are preſent have borne witneſs. You ought not to think this crime of a ſimilar nature, nor judge the hurt of the body worthy only of the ſame puniſhment as an injury in money. You know that the body is moſt cloſely united to us; and that we have made laws, contend for liberty, deſire a democracy, and do all thoſe things which concern life, on its account: wherefore it is juſt that you ſhould inflict the ſevereſt puniſhment on thoſe, who violate that which you moſt eſteem. You will find thoſe who have inſtituted laws to have taken the greateſt care of the body. In the firſt place, on this account only, in regard of all injuries, they would have both private and public cauſes proſecuted without any pledge of ſatisfying for the iſſue, that as every one of us could, and had a mind, he might take vengeance on thoſe who do ſuch an injury. Beſides, in all other accuſations, the guilty is only obnoxious to be proſecuted by him, who has ſuffered prejudice; but, in regard of contumely, as for a crime againſt the public, it is permitted any of the citizens, by propoſing the affair in writing to the ſix magiſtrates, to come before you: for they judged it ſuch a

heinous crime that any one ſhould be ſtruck by another, that they made ſuch a law about abuſive words only, viz. that he who ſpoke any thing forbidden, ſhould be fined five hundred drachmaes. Now, what puniſhment then is it juſt to take of thoſe, who have made others ſuffer by action, when it is certain you are ſo inflamed with indignation againſt thoſe, who have only injured others in words: and it would be wonderful if you judged thoſe who were thus injurious in the oligarchy worthy of death, but let thoſe go free, who do the ſame as they in a democracy. But theſe ſhould undergo deſervedly a greater puniſhment; for they certainly prove more clearly their improbity: for he who dares to treſpaſs contrary to law againſt citizens, when it is not permitted, what, I pray, would he not have done, when thoſe who governed it, would have thought themſelves obliged to thoſe who did ſuch things?

PERHAPS Lochites will endeavour to make this appear a ſmall matter, by ridiculing the accuſation, and ſaying, that I ſuffered nothing of harm by the blows; but that I make more words about them, than the ſubject requires. Was there no diſgrace added to what I have ſuffered, I would never have come before you; but now I do not come upon account of the damage done me by blows, but upon account of the infamous injury, to demand juſtice from you; for which it is reaſonable that free men ſhould have the greateſt reſentment, and take the ſevereſt vengeance. I ſee that you, when any one is guilty of ſacrilege or theft, do not inflict puniſhment according to the value of the things he has taken away; but puniſh all equally with death; and think, that thoſe who have attempted the ſame actions, ſhould be liable to the ſame penalties. You ought likewiſe to be of the ſame diſpoſition towards the contumelious, nor conſider this, whether they have violently beaten any one, but whether they have violated the law; nor puniſh them by the meaſure of what is done, but puniſh them for the manner in which it was ſo; reflecting, that ſmall motives have been the cauſes of great evils; and that many foreigners,

foreigners, as well as citizens, on account of thoſe who dared to ſtrike them, were ſo inflamed with anger, that they proceeded to ſlaughter, death, and the cruelleſt aſſaſſinations. Nothing of which was avoided as far as lay in the power of this man: for, as to him, all that has been ſaid before was done; but by fortune, and my moderation, nothing of an irremediable calamity happened.

I JUDGE you will be juſtly filled with indignation, if you reflect with yourſelves how much greater this injury is than any other: you will find, that other injuries are impediments only in regard of a part of our livelihood; but that this contumely prejudices us in all; that many families have been ruined for it, and many cities overturned. And why need I mention at large foreign calamities? We have twice ſeen the democracy diſſolved, and have been twice deprived of liberty, not by ſuch as were guilty of other crimes, but by thoſe who deſpiſed others, and would ſerve the enemy, while they inſulted over their fellow-citizens; of whom this man is one; for tho' he is younger than thoſe times, yet he has the diſpoſition of them; for ſuch were their tempers who betrayed the city's power to the enemy, deſtroyed its walls, and put to death fifteen hundred citizens, without hearing their cauſes. All which you ought to remember, and not only puniſh thoſe who hurt you, but likewiſe thoſe who would reduce the republic to the like condition. And you ſhould more ſeverely puniſh thoſe, who will probably become wicked, than thoſe who have done profligately before, as it is far better to find a remedy of future evils, than to take puniſhment for thoſe already done. Nor ought you to wait till ſuch men getting together, and finding an opportunity, treſpaſs againſt the whole city; but puniſh them ſeverely for whatever cauſes they are brought before you; thinking it an advantage, when you have caught ſome perſon, who, in ſmall matters, has ſhewed all his improbity. It would be a moſt happy thing, was there ſome other mark of wicked citizens, that you might puniſh them before they had injured any other citi-

zens; but becauſe this cannot be found out before ſome one has ſuffered harm from them, certainly, after they are known, they ought all to be hated, and judged common enemies. Reflect alſo on the dangers which occur in regard of private fortunes, that the poor have no ſhare, and yet they are equally liable to the injuries of their bodies: wherefore, when you puniſh defrauders, you only aſſiſt the opulent; but when you reſtrain inſults, you benefit yourſelves, and all. Wherefore theſe judgments ſhould be highly eſteemed, which, in regard of contracts, condemn one party to the payment of as much as it is juſt the accuſer ſhould receive; but, in caſes of inſult, to ſo much as will reſtrain the guilty from ever committing the like: wherefore, if you aboliſh that cuſtom of only fining thoſe in money, who offend by youthful inſolence, and determine no chaſtiſement ſevere enough for thoſe who commit injuſtice againſt others bodies, you will have performed all that becomes thoſe who judge wiſely; for you will give ſentence juſtly in the preſent caſe, will render other citizens more modeſt, and make your own lives more ſecure. Now, it is the part of prudent judges, by giving their voices in others cauſes, to ſecure their own affairs.

And let no one of you think, regarding this, that I am poor, and one of commonality, that he ſhould leſſen the full penalty; for it is not juſt to take leſs puniſhment for the ſake of obſcure men, than for the ſake of more noted; nor to judge the poor worſe by nature than the rich: for you will fix a mark of ignominy on yourſelves, if you judge ſo. Beſides, it would be the higheſt injuſtice, if, now a democracy is conſtituted, we ſhould not all have one common law; but think ourſelves even worthy of the magiſtracy, and yet deprive ourſelves of thoſe rights we have by our country's conſtitution; and if all of us are equally diſpoſed to die in battle for our country, and yet, in paſſing our ſentences, attribute more to thoſe who are richeſt. But, if you will liſten to me, you will not thus be affected towards yourſelves, nor will be authors, that young men

contemn

contemn the body of the citizens, nor judge ſuch cauſes unrelated to you; but, as if each pleaded his own cauſe, will give in your verdict: for they equally injure all, who dare to violate that law, which contains the ſafety of all. Wherefore, if you are wiſe, mutually encouraging one another, ſhew your reſentment againſt Lochites, conſcious that all ſuch deſpiſe thoſe laws which have been enacted, but eſteem what is done here of the higheſt ſanction. I have expreſſed myſelf as well as I was able on the preſent occaſion; but if any one of my advocates preſent has any thing which may further help my cauſe, let him come forth, and ſpeak before you.

THE TWENTY-FIRST

ORATION

OF

ISOCRATES:

ENTITLED,

The CAUSE without a WITNESS.

The SUBJECT.

IT is so called, because it is grounded upon no witness; but the truth is to be judged of by conjectures; for when the thirty tyrants were in power at Athens, Nicias being proscribed, deposited three talents with Euthynus, without any witnesses, who, upon his re-demand of it, received but two, and Euthynus kept back the other. The controversy consists in this, which is more probable, that Nicias should claim what he never trusted, or Euthynus reserve what he had received? This oration is very ingenious, and has been justly admired on that account.

THE TWENTY-FIRST ORATION of ISOCRATES, ENTITLED, The CAUSE without a WITNESS.

I HAVE a juſt reaſon for pleading this cauſe of Nicias; for he is my friend, has deſired it of me, has been injured, and is ignorant of pleading: wherefore, by all theſe reaſons, I am obliged to ſpeak in his ſtead. How his contract with Euthynus happened, I will explain to you in as few words as I am capable.

THIS Nicias therefore, after the thirty tyrants were eſtabliſhed, and his enemies had expunged him out of the city, and written him down, amongſt others, in Piſander's catalogue, diffident of his ſafety, he depoſited his ſubſtance, ſent his ſervants abroad, brought his furniture to me, and entruſted three talents to Euthynus; and retiring into the country, continued there. But not long after, having a mind to go thence in a ſhip, he aſked his money of Euthynus. Euthynus, upon this, reſtores two talents; but denies the third. Nicias therefore had nothing more that he could do at that time; but coming to his friends, he accuſed him, complained to them, and told them what he had ſuffered; but he ſo valued him, and was ſo apprehenſive of the circumſtances of thoſe times, that, if he had been deprived of a little, he would much ſooner have held his tongue, than, had he loſt nothing, ever accuſed him: and theſe were the things juſt as they happened. Our cauſe is involved

involved in difficulty; for neither free perſon nor ſlave was preſent with Nicias, either when he depoſited or received the money: wherefore it is not poſſible that you ſhould know the truth either by queſtions or witneſſes; but it is neceſſary that we ſhould plead by probable arguments, and you judge thereby which of us ſpeaks truth.

I JUDGE all know, that thoſe who are ſkilled in ſpeaking, but poſſeſs nothing, are moſt ſubject to calumniate others who cannot harangue, but are able to pay money. Now, Nicias poſſeſſes more than Euthynus; but is leſs knowing in eloquence: wherefore there is no cauſe why he ſhould be incited to accuſe Euthynus unjuſtly; but, by the nature of the thing, one may perceive, that it is more probable that Euthynus would deny what he had received, than that Nicias would require what he had not given; for it is a certain truth, that all men commit injuſtice for the ſake of gain: and thoſe indeed, who defraud others, have thoſe things for which they act unjuſtly; but they who accuſe, know not whether they ſhall receive any thing by it. Beſides, when things were uncertain in the city, and there were no judgments, no advantage could have accrued to Nicias, had he accuſed him; whereas the other could have been in no fear, tho' he had defrauded: wherefore it is no wonder, if, when thoſe who had borrowed money before witneſſes, denied it, he ſhould at ſuch a time deny what he alone received from the other in private. But it is not congruous that this perſon (when even thoſe to whom money was juſtly owing could not exact it, ſhould imagine he could acquire any thing by accuſing Euthynus; but it is eaſy to perceive, that if nothing had hindered, and that he both could and would have calumniated, he would the laſt of any have accuſed Euthynus; for thoſe who deſign ſuch things, begin not with their friends, but, with them, invade others, and accuſe ſuch as they neither reſpect nor fear, and ſuch as are indeed rich, but deſtitute of friends, and unfit for buſineſs and contention. But the contrary is found in Euthynus; for he is the couſin of Nicias, and has

more

more eloquence and experience than he. Besides, Euthynus has a small fortune, but many friends; wherefore there is no person whom Nicias would not sooner have attempted than him; nay, it seems to me, who have known their familiarity, that Euthynus would not have injured Nicias, if he could have defrauded another. But there is one simple cause of this affair; it is permitted to accuse any one you please to pitch on; but it is not possible to defraud, except the person who has trusted a deposit: wherefore, I say, Nicias, had he had an inclination to calumny, would not have attacked him; but Euthynus, with such a disposition, could not find any other to defraud. This is the strongest sign, and sufficient for a judgment of the whole; for, when the accusation was first made, the oligarchy prevailed, under which their circumstances were such, that Nicias, had he been accustomed in former times to calumniate, would have then desisted; but Euthynus, though he had never thought of such a thing before, would have been tempted to do this injury: for Euthynus was then honoured for his vices; but the other laid in wait for on account of his riches. You all know, that, in those times, it was thought more atroce to be rich, than unjust; for these seized the properties of others, but the former lost their own possessions: for they, in whose power the republic was then, punished the innocent, and spoiled those who were possessed of riches; and thought the unjust faithful to them, but the wealthy their enemies. Wherefore Nicias was not in such a situation as to seize on others goods by calumny, but rather to suffer harm himself, tho' he had done no evil; but it was permitted Euthynus in such power to defraud another of what he had received, and accuse those he had no commerce with; whereas those who were in a like condition with Nicias, were forced to forgive their debtors their just debts, and let calumniators plunder them. And that these things are true, Euthynus himself can witness; for he knows that Timodemus extorted from Nicias thirty minaes, not by demand of debt, but by threatening to carry him to prison.

priſon. But how is it probable that Nicias was arrived at ſuch a pitch of phrenzy, that, while he was in danger of his life by it, he would calumniate others; and while he could not protect his own, ſhould lay ſnares for the ſubſtance of others, and raiſe up to himſelf other enemies to contend with beſides thoſe which he already had; and accuſe thoſe unjuſtly, againſt whom, tho' they had confeſſed they had wronged him, yet, at that time, he could have obtained no redreſs by law; or, when he was obliged to give what he had never received, he ſhould then hope to gain what he had never entered into a contract about? What has been ſaid, ſuffices (methinks) on this ſubject.

PERHAPS Euthynus will repeat what he has long ago ſaid before, that if he had had a mind to commit an injuſtice, he never would have reſtored two parts of the depoſit, and retained a third; but whether he would have been juſt, or the contrary, he would have been the ſame in regard of the whole. But, I think, you all know, that when men go about acting unjuſtly, they at the ſame time think of an excuſe; wherefore it is not reaſonable to wonder, if by thoſe very arguments Euthynus committed this injuſtice in ſuch a manner. Beſides, I could mention many, who upon the receipt of money, have reſtored the greateſt, and retained a ſmall part; and ſuch likewiſe as have defrauded in ſmall contracts, and yet been juſt in regard of great ones: wherefore Euthynus has not been the firſt, or alone done this. You ought alſo to obſerve, that if you approve thoſe who plead thus, you will conſtitute a law or method, whereby men may, with impunity, defraud others; ſo that for the future, they will reſtore a part, and keep back the reſt; for this will be lucrative to them, if uſing what they have reſtored for argument, they ſhall eſcape puniſhment. Reflect alſo, it is eaſy to make for Nicias the ſame defence with Euthynus; for when he received two talents, no one was preſent with him; wherefore if he had a mind, and judged it convenient to calumniate, it is manifeſt he would not have confeſſed he had received theſe; but he would have

have pleaded for all. Euthynus thus would have run the hazard of a greater ſum, and could not uſe ſuch arguments as he now does. Moreover, there is not one perſon can ſhew any reaſon why Nicias ſhould falſly accuſe Euthynus; but it is eaſy to imagine for what reaſons Euthynus has done this injuſtice to him, and in this manner; for when Nicias was oppreſſed with calamities, all his relations and friends knew, that he had depoſited with this man money; therefore Euthynus knew, that many had heard that money was depoſited with him; but what ſum, no one knew: wherefore he thought, did he ſubtract from the ſum, he ſhould not be found out; but that if he ſhould detain the whole, he ſhould be proved guilty. Wherefore he choſe rather to defraud him of as much as ſufficed, than, reſtoreing nothing, to be left without a poſſibility of denial.

The END of the ORATIONS.

THE

EPISTLES
OF
ISOCRATES.

THE EPISTLES of ISOCRATES.

EPISTLE I.

THE INSCRIPTION.

Iſocrates wiſhes happineſs to Philip king of Macedon.

IF I was younger, I would not ſend this letter, but rather ſail myſelf, and upon the ſpot diſcourſe with you; but as the ſeaſon of my life does not agree with labour, and I am now waſted with age, I will endeavour to write to you as prudently as I can about the preſent ſtate of things. I know indeed it much concerns thoſe, who would perſuade others not to explain their mind in letters, but in private converſation, not only becauſe any one may more eaſily tranſact buſineſs preſent, than declare his thoughts by letter; nor that all credit words rather than writings, and think the firſt, as it were, friendly deliberations, and the latter but as fictions; but becauſe, beſides this, in converſation, if any thing ſpoken be not underſtood, or not believed, he that makes the diſcourſe may apply a remedy to both inconveniencies; but, in ſent diſcourſes, if any thing of this nature happens, there is no one to obviate it; for he being abſent who wrote them, writings are deprived of him who ſhould ſupply their deficiency. But, as you are to be their judge, I have great hope that I ſhall appear to have ſpoken to the purpoſe; for I judge that you, ſetting aſide all impediments, will apply your mind to the things themſelves.

SOME

SOME of thoſe who have been with me, have endeavoured to deter me, ſaying, that you reſpect flatterers, but contemn admonitors. Had I believed their words, I would have remained quiet. Now, none ſhall perſuade me that any one can ſo far excel others as you do, both in actions and wiſdom, unleſs he be the ſcholar of ſome, the hearer of others, the benefactor of many, and on every ſide ſeek and collect thoſe helps, whereby he may exerciſe and improve his underſtanding. I therefore was thus induced to write to you; for reſolving both to ſpeak of great things, and of ſuch ſubjects as it is convenient no one living ſhould ſooner hear than you, methinks I ought ſo earneſtly to exhort you, that you muſt per force become the hearer of ſuch a written oration. Nor am I ambitious of praiſe, or ignorant that you muſt be ſatiated with orations and men. This likewiſe is evident, that public aſſemblies are proper for ſuch as are deſirous of oſtentation; for there they may diſplay their eloquence and ability to the greateſt numbers: but that thoſe who would effect any thing, ſhould direct their diſcourſe to him, who can the moſt expeditiouſly put in execution what is ſpoken of in their oration: wherefore, was I to counſel a city, I would direct my diſcourſe to the chief of it; but when I have reſolved to give counſel for the public ſafety of Greece, to whom can any ſay it is ſo proper I ſhould direct my diſcourſe as to him, who excels in nobility, and is poſſeſſed of the greateſt power? Nor ſhall I ſeem to ſpeak unſeaſonably of this ſubject; for when the Lacedæmonians held the ſovereignty, it would not have been eaſy for you to have patroniſed us, and reſiſted them; but they have now ſuch bad ſucceſs, that they will be content to poſſeſs their own territory. But our city will readily be your ally, and partner of your labour, if you will act for the common good of Greece. How then can there a more glorious opportunity happen?

NOR wonder, tho' I am neither orator or captain, nor powerful in any other regard, I undertake ſo momentous an affair, and attempt two of the greateſt things, viz. to ſpeak

of the ſtate of all Greece, and give you counſel. I indeed abſtained ſoon from all public affairs (for what reaſons it would be troubleſome to mention here) but it is evident, that I was not ignorant of the inſtitutes of that philoſophy, which deſpiſes ſmall things, and haſtens to great undertakings: wherefore it will not be incredible that I ſhould perceive ſomething profitable ſooner than thoſe who are converſant in government, and have acquired glory. I ſhall immediately demonſtrate if I have any merit; but this will be ſhewn by what I deſign to ſpeak of.

NOTE, This letter, with the oration ſent to Philip, and the letter to Alexander, probably inſpired and animated thoſe great men to undertake the Perſian war; ſo that Iſocrates's eloquence may be ſaid, perhaps, to have produced one of the greateſt events in the world.

EPISTLE II.

THE INSCRIPTION.

Iſocrates wiſhes happineſs to Philip.

I KNOW well, that kings are wont to have more gratitude for thoſe who praiſe, than thoſe who admoniſh them. I, had I not before admoniſhed you with a great deal of benevolence of thoſe things, whereby it appeared to me, that you would do what moſt became you, perhaps, ſhould not now addreſs this letter about what has befallen you. But becauſe I have choſen to be ſollicitous for your affairs, as well on account of my own as other Grecian cities, I ſhould bluſh, ſhould I ſeem to have given you counſel about leſs neceſſary affairs, but ſhould make no mention of thoſe that are more urgent; and this when the others only concern your glory, but theſe your ſafety, which you ſeem to all thoſe, who have heard the reproaches made of you, to have neglected: for there are none but ſay, that you

you expose yourself to danger more than becomes a king; and that you more regard the praise of fortitude, than the event of all. But it is alike disgraceful, when the enemy is pressing on all sides, not to excel others, as, when no necessity calls upon you, to expose yourself to such hazards; wherein should you come off victor, you will gain no great advantage; but, should you lose your life, you will overturn all your present happiness. Now, we ought not to think all deaths in war are honourable; but that those which happen for our country, our parents, and children, are worthy of praise; and that those, which prejudice all these, and give a blot to former success, ought to be thought by us disgraceful, and be avoided, as the causes of infamy. But I judge you ought to imitate, and consider how cities administer their affairs in war; for they all, when they send out an army, are wont to put in safety the public, and the general council: whereby it happens, that if some calamity befalls them, their power is not annihilated, but they can sustain many losses, and again recover themselves; which you ought to have in view, and think no good greater than safety, that you may use the victories you gain with prudence. You may see what great care the Lacedæmonians take of the safety of their kings, and appoint the most famous of their citizens for their guards, to desert whom when slain, is more infamous than to throw away their shields. But neither are you ignorant of what happened to Xerxes, who formed the design of enslaving Greece; and to Cyrus, who disputed for the Persian kingdom: for the former, tho' he fell into so many calamities and distresses, as no one knows the like of by history, yet, because he had saved his life, he recovered his kingdom, and delivered it to his children; and it is no less terrible now than it was before. But Cyrus, after he had conquered all the king's forces, and had gained supreme power, by his own temerity, did not only deprive himself of so great a dominion, but he brought all his friends into the extremest danger. I could mention many more, who being the generals of great armies, because

they were ſlain immaturely themſelves, were the cauſe of the deſtruction of millions.

Considering which, you ought not to deſire that fortitude which is joined with imprudence, and unſeaſonable ambition; nor, while ſo many dangers hang over monarchy, invent for yourſelf others of an ignoble, common, military nature; nor contend with thoſe, who would either be freed from a miſerable life, or raſhly face dangers, in the hope of a larger ſtipend; nor deſire even ſuch a glory as others, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, have obtained; but that which is of ſuch ſublimity, that no one living, but yourſelf, can acquire; nor as much love thoſe virtues which mean men may be partakers of, as thoſe which no bad man can have a ſhare in: nor carry on ignoble, dangerous wars, when you may undertake honourable and ſafe ones; nor, in fine, ſuch whereby you may throw your friends into the greateſt grief and ſorrow, and give the greateſt hope to your enemies, as you have now done. But it will ſuffice ſo far to conquer theſe Barbarians you now fight with till you have ſecured your own kingdom, and then attack and endeavour to overthrow him, who is now called the great king, thereby to exalt your own glory, and ſhew to the Grecians againſt whom they ought to make war. I very much wiſh I had ſent you this letter before you had undertaken your expedition; for, if you had been perſuaded, you would not have been expoſed to ſuch dangers; but, if you had not liſtened to me, yet I ſhould not ſeem to counſel you to ſuch things, as now, upon account of what you have ſuffered, are manifeſt in their nature to all; but the event would have proved, that thoſe words were true which I had ſpoken about ſuch enterpriſes.

Tho' I have many things to ſay on the ſubject, yet I will conclude; for I judge, that you and the beſt of your friends can eaſily add as much as you pleaſe to what has been ſaid by me. Beſides, I am afraid of appearing to affect too great copiouſneſs; for having thus proceeded by degrees, I did not obſerve that I had not preſerved the brevity

vity of a letter, but had indulged the length of an oration: but ſhould this be ſo, yet thoſe things which regard our city, ought not to be neglected; but I ought to endeavour to perſuade you to cultivate its amity and friendſhip: for I judge there do not want many perſons, who will tell you not only the moſt odious things which are ſaid of you here, but will add ſomething of their own; whom it is not juſt you ſhould liſten to: for it would be unreaſonable that you ſhould blame our people for eaſily giving credit to accuſations, and yet you yourſelf believe thoſe who practiſe ſuch fallacy. And you muſt be ſenſible, that the more any prove our city to be credulous, they prove it more diſpoſed for your purpoſes; for if thoſe who can effect no good, obtain by words of it whatever they pleaſe, it is certainly congruous that you, who in fact can ſo greatly benefit it, muſt of courſe obtain whatever you judge proper. Now, I think, to thoſe who moſt bitterly reproach our city, may be oppoſed thoſe, who ſay it has a right to all, and never did amiſs in things of a greater or leſs moment. But I ſhall imitate neither of them; for I ſhould bluſh, if, while others think not the gods themſelves impeccable, I ſhould dare to aſſert, that we had never tranſgreſſed in any thing: but I have this to ſay of it, that you can find no other more ſerviceable to Greece, or uſeful for your own affairs, which ought particularly to be conſidered by you: for, not only as a declared ally, it will be the cauſe to you of much good, but if it only ſeems friendly diſpoſed; for by this means you will more eaſily keep thoſe in their duty, who are already ſubject to you, if they have no refuge; and you may more eaſily conquer what Barbarians you pleaſe. Why ſhould you not willingly deſire that friendſhip, by which you will hold ſecurely your preſent power, and will acquire an ample additional one without danger? Now, I wonder at thoſe potentates, who hire great armies of mercenaries, and expend much money upon them, tho' they know that ſuch men have injured more of thoſe who confided in them than they have ſaved; but yet do not endeavour to gain the friend-

ſhip of a city poſſeſſed of ſuch power, which has already preſerved both ſingular cities and all Greece. Reflect alſo, that you ſeem to many to have conſulted rightly in acting juſtly by the Theſſalians, and as was convenient for them, tho' not tractable men indeed, but magnanimous, and prone to ſedition. You ought therefore to be ſuch towards us, knowing, that the Theſſalians have only their country, but we a great power neighbouring to you, which you muſt by all means endeavour to reconcile: for it is much more glorious to gain the benevolence of cities, than to force walls; and the latter has not only envy for its attendant, but men are wont to attribute ſuch atchievements to armies; whereas, if you acquire benevolence and friendſhip, all will praiſe your prudence.

You may juſtly credit me about what I have ſaid of our city; for I am not accuſtomed to flatter it in my diſcourſes, but to have reprehended it more than any one; nor ever to have been eſteemed by the vulgar, and thoſe who take raſh counſels, but not unknown or odious to ſuch as you are. But this is the difference betwixt us, that they are of this diſpoſition towards you on account of your felicity and power; towards me, becauſe I profeſs myſelf wiſer than they, and they ſee more are willing to converſe with me than them. I wiſh it was equally poſſible for both to avoid the opinions which they have conceived of us; but you, if you pleaſe, without much difficulty, may blot them out in reſpect of yourſelf: but I am under a neceſſity, on account of my old age, and many other reaſons, to be contented with my condition. Wherefore I ſee not why I ſhould ſay more, but only this, that it is permitted you to recommend your empire and fortune as a pledge to the friendſhip and benevolence of all Greece.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE III.

THE INSCRIPTION.

Iſocrates wiſheth happineſs to Philip.

I DISCOURSED with Antipater concerning thoſe things which would be advantageous to our city and you, with ſufficient copiouſneſs, as I have perſuaded myſelf. But I choſe likewiſe to write to you about thoſe things, which, as it ſeems to me, you ſhould do after the peace, of a like nature indeed with thoſe written in the oration, but in a much briefer manner. At that time I counſelled you, after you had reconciled our city, that of the Lacedæmonians, and of the Argives, to unite all the Greeks in concord. I imagined, that if you perſuaded the principal cities to be of ſuch a diſpoſition, the others would eaſily follow. Then the ſtate of affairs was different; but it has now ſo happened, that perſuaſion is unneceſſary: for, on account of the battle which has been given, all are forced to be wiſe, and deſire thoſe things, which, I believed, you thought and had a deſire of, viz. leaving all phrenzy and avarice where-by they plagued one another, to transfer the war directly into Aſia. Beſides, many aſk of me, whether I perſuaded you to an expedition againſt the Barbarians, or, when you had determined it firſt, if it had my approbation? I anſwered, I do not know for certain; for I never hitherto had your converſation: yet I can ſay, that I believe you had purpoſed the deſign; but that I ſeconded your intention. When they had heard this from me, they deſired I would admoniſh and exhort you to continue in the ſame intentions, there not being a poſſibility of more noble atchievements, more uſeful to Greece, or likely to be more favoured by opportunity. If therefore I had the ſame faculty which I had formerly, and was not enfeebled quite by age, I would not thus exhort you by letters, but, in your preſence, would counſel and excite you to the enterprize. Now, I exhort you in that manner I can, not to neglect

theſe things till you have compleated them. Beſides, it is not reputable inſatiably to deſire any things elſe. Moderation of them is approved by moſt; but to deſire great and diſtinguiſhed glory, and never to be ſatiated with it, is becoming thoſe who far excel others, which is your caſe. Do you therefore judge you will have acquired a tranſcendant degree of it, and worthy of your actions, when you have forced the Barbarians to ſerve the Grecians, except ſuch as fight on your ſide; and reduce that king, who is now ſtiled Great, to ſuch a condition, that he obey your orders. This is much eaſier to be done by you in your preſent ſtate, than for you to have arrived at that power and glory which you now enjoy, beyond that kingdom which you had at firſt: nor will any thing remain for you, but to attain divinity. I have a grateful ſentiment for old age on this account only, that it has ſo far prolonged my life, that, I hope, what I thought of when I was young, and began to write of in the panegyric, as well as in that oration which I ſent to you, I ſee partly compleated by what you have done, and hope to ſee the reſt accompliſhed hereafter.

EPISTLE IV.

THE INSCRIPTION.

Iſocrates wiſhes health to Philip.

I, THO' it is dangerous to ſend a letter into Macedonia, not only now when we are at war together, but even when we are at peace, yet have choſen to write to you about Diodotus, thinking it but juſt to highly eſteem my diſciples, and thoſe who have been worthy of my friendſhip, and not in the leaſt degree this perſon, both on account of his benevolence to me, and equity in all other things. Now, I ſhould particularly deſire he ſhould be recommended by me; but, ſince he is known to you by others, what remains is, that I bear teſtimony of him, and confirm

confirm the knowledge you have of him already. I have had the familiarity of many and various perſons, ſome of whom were diſtinguiſhed by great glory, others by eloquence, and ſome again by prudence, and the management of affairs; ſome for their modeſty and affable behaviour, tho' uſeleſs for the other purpoſes and cuſtoms of life. But this perſon received ſuch a happy genius from nature, that he was wonderfully perfect in all theſe qualities; and I ſhould not dare to ſpeak this, if it was not that I had moſt certain experience, and you will have the ſame, partly when you yourſelf converſe with him, and hear his praiſe from others who have had his acquaintance, none of whom, except he be envious, will deny, that he is, both in eloquence and counſel, inferior to none, yet very juſt and moderate, and abſtinent in reſpect of money, beſides a moſt agreeable and facetious companion, let me add, and of a great deal of liberty in his converſation; not ſuch tho' as is improper, but which is juſtly the greateſt mark of benevolence towards friends, which thoſe princes, who have a greatneſs of ſoul worthy of empire, honour as beneficial; but thoſe who are of a weaker genius than is ſuitable to their power, take ill, as if it forced them to act againſt their inclinations, ignorant, that in regard of that utility which we are ſpeaking of, thoſe who dare moſt freely contradict, afford them the greateſt opportunity of acting with full liberty: for it is probable, that, by means of thoſe, who chuſe to ſpeak for the pleaſure only of others, not monarchies alone cannot confirm their power (which certainly are expoſed to many dangers), but that even republics cannot, which are governed with more ſecurity. Now, it is not unlikely, they who perſiſt freely in delivering the beſt counſel, may ſave many ſtates that would otherwiſe periſh: wherefore it is juſt they ſhould be in greater eſteem with kings, who declare the truth, than thoſe who ſpeak every thing to pleaſe, but nothing worthy of gratitude; but it happens, that ſuch are generally in leſs favour with the powerful, which Diodotus happened to ſuffer from

ſome

ſome of the Aſiatic potentates, to whom he had been very uſeful, not only by counſels, but actions and dangers, becauſe he ſpoke freely about what would have benefitted them, he was both deprived of his domeſtic happineſs and a great variety of hopes; and ſome mens flattery had greater prevalence than his real ſervices; on which account, tho' he always deſigned to paſs over to you, yet he delayed, not becauſe he thought all alike in ſuperior power, but becauſe, by reaſon of the difficulties they laid in his way, he was of a leſs chearful mind in entertaining the hopes you offered him. He ſeems to me to have ſuffered ſomething of a like nature with ſome who go to ſea, who, when they have at firſt met with a tempeſt, ſcarce go to ſea with courage any more, tho' they know navigation may be performed with great ſecurity. But, ſince he is recommended to you, all things ſeem to him to have happened well. I judge it will happen ſo to him, by a conjecture drawn from your humanity, which you are thought poſſeſſed of even by ſtrangers and foreigners; and then, that you are not ignorant that it is the moſt pleaſant and profitable of all things to acquire, by benefits, faithful and uſeful friends, and deſerve well of thoſe, for whoſe ſakes many others will be grateful to you; for all elegant-minded perſons praiſe and honour ſuch as converſe equitably and benevolently with virtuous men, as if they themſelves had received kindneſſes from them. But I judge Diodotus himſelf will be the greateſt motive to you of providing for him. I likewiſe exhorted his ſon, that he would eſpouſe your intereſt, and, by devoting himſelf to you as a diſciple, endeavour to make greater proficiency. While I was ſpeaking this, he declared he was deſirous of your friendſhip; but that he found himſelf much in the ſame manner affected towards it, as he was towards honorary crowns gained in gymnaſtic games: he wiſhed indeed to win them; but that he dared not deſcend into the area, becauſe he had not ſufficient ſtrength: that thus he deſired to obtain honours from you, but deſpaired of deſerving them; for, he ſaid, he feared his own inexperience, and

your

your ſplendor: beſides, that his perſon was not advantageous, but liable to blame, which, he thought, would prove an impediment to him in buſineſs. He therefore ſhall do whatever he judges convenient; but whether he be with you, or indulging quiet, I would deſire you to take care of him in all he needs; but particularly take care of his and his father's ſafety, thinking you have in him, as it were, a truſt of my old age, which juſtly merits regard, both from my authority, if I may be judged worthy of any, and alſo from my benevolence to you, which has been perpetual thro' my life. Nor ought you to wonder if I have written too prolix a letter, and have ſaid ſomething ſuperfluous, or like the old man, in it; for neglecting all other things, I only took care of this, that it might appear I have been ſollicitous for my friends, and thoſe who are valued by me.

EPISTLE V.

THE INSCRIPTION.

Iſocrates wiſhes happineſs to Alexander.

WHEN I wrote to your father, I thought it would be imprudent, if I did not at the ſame time addreſs myſelf to, and ſalute you, who are in the ſame place; and write ſomething of ſuch a nature, as may be the cauſe that thoſe, who do not know me, may not think I am become childiſh, or quite fooliſh by old age; but perceive, that what of genius remains me, is not unworthy of the faculty I was poſſeſſed of in my youthful days; for I hear from all, that you are humane, affectioned to the Athenians, a lover of wiſdom, and never act raſhly, but with conſummate prudence: and they ſay, you approved not of ſuch of our citizens who have neglected themſelves, and deſire diſhonourable things, but ſuch, in whoſe converſation you felt no tediouſneſs, but, had you taken counſel with them, would have ſuffered no injury or detriment;

ment; with whom, and ſuch like, it certainly becomes wiſe men to have familiarity. It is likewiſe ſaid, that, amongſt the various kinds of philoſophy, you do not reject that, which is employed in diſputations; but judge, that it too has its uſe in converſation: but that it is not proper for thoſe who preſide over the people, or are monarchs; for that it neither is convenient or decent, that thoſe who are of ſublimer minds than others, ſhould either wrangle with their citizens, or give others the liberty of contradicting them. They therefore ſay, you love not this ſtudy like that of eloquence, a ſcience we put in practice on daily occurrences, and, by its means, deliberate about affairs of ſtate; by which you now ſeem to lay down juſt rules for your ſubjects, and preſcribe what each ought to do; and to judge wiſely of honourable and juſt actions, with their contraries; beſides, chaſtiſe and reward both according to merit. Whereby you give hopes to your father and others, that, if you perſevere in ſuch inſtitutes, you will as far ſurpaſs others in wiſdom, as your father has ſurpaſſed all.

EPISTLE VI.

The Inscription.

Iſocrates wiſhes happineſs to the ſons of Jaſon.

ONE of the embaſſadors, who were ſent to you, told me, that being called aſide, he was aſked by you, if I might be perſuaded to go abroad, and ſtay with you. I ſhould indeed, upon account of Jaſon and Pelyacus's hoſpitality, willingly come to you; for I know ſuch a mutual converſation would benefit us all: but many things are impediments to me, eſpecially becauſe I cannot travel, nor does it become perſons of my years to go abroad; and beſides, becauſe all who heard of my voyage would juſtly blame me, if, having choſen to paſs my former life in tranquillity, I ſhould attempt to travel into diſtant places in my

my old age, when it is becoming for me, tho' I had paſſed my days before in foreign places, now to haſten home again, when the concluſion of my life is ſo near. Moreover, I am afraid of our city, (for I ought to ſpeak the truth) becauſe I ſee alliances made with it ſoon diſſolved; and ſhould any thing happen of a like nature betwixt you, how could I avoid accuſation and danger (which would be very difficult) and not bluſh beſides, whether I ſhould ſeem to ſome, upon account of our city, to neglect you, or, on your account, to undervalue our city; for when your intereſts were no longer common, I do not ſee how I could pleaſe both. Wherefore, there are ſo many cauſes, you ſee, for which I cannot do what you deſire.

NOR do I yet judge, that while I write to you only about my own circumſtances, it is becoming me to neglect your intereſt; but what I would have ſpoken preſent, I will endeavour now to explain to you as well as I can: yet do not imagine this, that I have written to you this letter, not on account of your hoſpitality, but becauſe I had a mind to make ſhew of my ingenuity; for I am not arrived at that degree of deliriouſneſs, as to be ignorant, that I can never write better than what has been already publiſhed by me, when I am now ſo remote from the flower of life; and that, if I ſhould produce what is inferior, I ſhall leſſen my own reputation by it. Beſides, if I ſhewed oſtentation, nor acted ſincerely, I would not have choſen out of all, a ſubject that is eaſy to be ſpoken on, but would have found out ſome other that was more brilliant, and would have furniſhed me with greater variety of diſcourſe: but I never even before pleaſed myſelf on ſuch a ſcore, but on quite different motives, which are concealed from moſt; nor do I now write with ſuch a view. But ſeeing you involved in many and great affairs, and having a mind to declare what ſentiments I have about them, I thought I had, reſpectively to them, the faireſt opportunity of giving my beſt counſel and advice; for experience teaches perſons of my age, and they ſeem to know what is beſt better than others.

others. But to ſpeak upon a propoſed ſubject with harmony, elegance, and accuracy, is no longer to be expected from my years; and I ſhall be contented, if I ſeem not to ſpeak altogether negligently: but do not wonder, if I appear to ſay ſome of thoſe things which you have heard before; for I, perhaps, ſhall unwillingly fall upon ſome of them, and knowingly chuſe the others, as judging them moſt proper; for I ſhould be ridiculous, if, while I ſee others make uſe of what I ſaid before, I ſhould alone abſtain from, and avoid my own thoughts.

I HAVE prefaced ſo much upon this account, viz. becauſe what I ſhall firſt mention is a very trite direction; for I am wont to ſay to thoſe who ſtudy eloquence, that we ought particularly to conſider what we are to do throughout the whole oration, and its parts: but, after we have found out this, and accurately diſpoſed all, that then we are to ſeek out thoſe ideas and figures, whereby we may acquire our propoſed end. This is the ground-work or rudiment of all other things, and your affairs; for nothing can be done prudently, unleſs you firſt reaſon accurately, and determine how you ought to conduct yourſelf in time to come, and what ſhould be the tenor of your whole life; what glory you ought to have in view, and what honours you ought to love, whether ſuch as are conferred upon you by willing or unwilling citizens. When you have come to a reſolution about this, then thoſe ſingular actions, which daily occur, are to be conſidered, that they may conduce to that plan which was laid down in the beginning. And if you thus maturely reflect and reſolve, you will conſtantly aim at utility, as at a mark, and will the ſooner hit it. But if you propoſe no ſuch ſcope to yourſelves, but endeavour to regulate what caſually happens, there will be a neceſſity of your frequently miſtaking, and being diſappointed in many things.

PERHAPS ſome of thoſe, who chuſe to lead their lives by chance, will endeavour to invalidate ſuch reaſonings, and will require, that, after I have clearly defined what I mean,

mean, I ſhould then give my counſel about what has been ſaid before. I think, therefore, I ſhould not delay to give my ſentiments. A private life ſeems to me both preferable and ſafer than that of monarchs; and I judge thoſe honours ſweeter that are given by free and magnanimous perſons, than by ſuch as are oppreſſed by ſlavery. I will endeavour to explain myſelf; but I am not ignorant that I ſhall have many adverſaries, and eſpecially ſuch as are converſant with you. I know they do not a little exhort you to retain deſpotic power; for they do not conſider the nature of the whole thing, but deceive themſelves. They ſee power, lucre, and pleaſure, and hope they ſhall enjoy them; but they do not ſee thoſe diſturbances, fears, and calamities, which befall both princes and their friends. They are in the ſame condition of blindneſs with thoſe who commit the baſeſt and moſt atrocious actions; for they are not ignorant of the deformity of thoſe things, but they hope they ſhall obtain whatever there is of gain or pleaſure in them, but ſhall ſhun their troubles, avoid their evils, and live remote from danger, while they enjoy all their poſſible utility. I therefore envy not thoſe who are of ſuch a mind, upon account of their ſloth and indolence. But I ſhould bluſh, if, while I give counſel to others, having no regard for them, I ſhould only have in view my own intereſt, and ſhould not, without reſpect of my own advantages, and all other things, counſel what was beſt. Wherefore, be attentive to this letter, as from a perſon entirely of thoſe ſentiments.

EPISTLE VII.

THE INSCRIPTION.

Iſocrates wiſhes happineſs to Timotheus.

I SUPPOSE you heard from many mention made of our mutual friendſhip. Now I congratulate with you, firſt, that you uſe your power more juſtly and prudently than your

your father; and then, that you chuſe rather to obtain true glory, than great riches. You give not a ſmall ſign of virtue, but the very greateſt, when you are of this mind: wherefore, if you perſevere in what is ſaid of you, you will not want perſons who will praiſe both your prudence and philoſophy: and I think, that what is ſaid of your father, is a ſure argument that you are both wiſe, and excel others; for men are wont not ſo much to praiſe and honour thoſe who were born of praiſe-worthy parents, as thoſe who were born of cruel and barbarous ones, if it is evident that in nothing they reſemble them: for in all things, the good which happens beyond expectation, is more grateful to mankind, than that which happens as it is probable and fitting it ſhould: which things being well conſidered, you ought to think and ſeek out, by uſing what means and what counſellors, you may amend the calamities of the city; may exhort your citizens to beneficence and moderation, and cauſe them to live with more pleaſure and ſecurity than they did in times paſt; for this is the duty of ſuch who govern juſtly, and with equity and prudence: which ſome neglecting, have nothing elſe in view, but to live themſelves in the greateſt licentiouſneſs, and baniſh and plunder the beſt of citizens; not reflecting, that it becomes the prudent who are in ſupreme power, not to acquire themſelves pleaſures from others calamities, but render their citizens, by their own care and ſollicitude, more happy; nor be of a harſh and ſavage diſpoſition towards them, and neglect their own ſafety, but preſide over others ſo mildly and gently, that no one will dare to conſpire againſt them; but yet guard their lives with as much care, as if all deſigned to aſſaſſinate them. For thoſe who have ſuch conduct, will be themſelves out of danger, and made glorious over all Greece; a greater good than which, it would be a difficulty to have an idea of. It came into my mind while I was writing, how happily all events have befallen you; for that affluence of riches, which muſt neceſſarily be gotten tyrannically, with a deal of odium and violence, has been

been left you by your father; but to make a good and humane uſe of them is in your own power; concerning which you ought to take ſingular care and caution. Which I think is of this nature; for the thing is thus: if you love money and great power, and thoſe dangers by which they are acquired, you muſt call in other counſellors; but if you have already enough of theſe, but deſire virtue, true glory, and the love of the people, then you ought to be attentive to my counſels, and contend with thoſe for fame, who have governed their cities well, and ſtrive to excel others. I hear likewiſe, that Cleomis, who holds the government of Methymnæ, is, in his actions, juſt, virtuous, and prudent, and ſo far from putting any to death, or baniſhing them, proſcribing their goods, or doing them any other prejudice, that he gives great ſecurity to his citizens, reſtores thoſe who return to their poſſeſſions, and pays thoſe who had bought them, the full of what they had given for them, beſides, arms all the citizens, as if none could poſſibly have any bad deſigns againſt him; but that, if any dared, judging it better to die, while he ſhews ſuch an example of virtue to all, than live longer than other men, by being author of the greateſt calamities to his city.

PERHAPS I would have diſcourſed with you thus, longer, and more accurately, unleſs I was under a neceſſity of finiſhing this letter in a ſhort time; but I will ſend you my counſel again, if old age does not prevent me. At preſent, we will diſcourſe about private affairs; for Autocrator, who brings this, is my friend. I have been converſant with him in the ſame ſtudies, have made uſe of his rules, and have often perſuaded him to undertake a voyage to you; for all which I deſire you will treat him honourably, and as is becoming both; and that it may be clear, I have faithfully diſcharged myſelf of a part of what is due to him. Nor wonder that I ſo readily write to you, and yet never deſired any thing of Clearchus; for almoſt all they who ſail to you ſay, that you are like the moſt excellent of thoſe who have converſed with me: but as for

Clearchus, all confeſs, that, during the time that he was with us (whoever knew him) he was the moſt liberal, mild, and humane of all, who devoted themſelves to my diſcipline; but, as ſoon as he had ſupreme power, that he was ſo changed for the worſe, that all wondered, who had any part of his acquaintance. I am therefore become eſtranged from him on theſe accounts; but I eſteem you, and vehemently deſire your friendſhip. You will ſhortly ſhew if you are in the like diſpoſition; for you will pleaſe to take care of Autocrator, and ſend me a letter, that you may renew our ancient friendſhip and hoſpitality. Farewel; and if you would have any thing elſe done by me, let me know.

EPISTLE VIII.

The Inscription.

To the magiſtracy of Mitylenæ.

THE ſons of Apharcus, and my grandſons, who have been inſtructed in muſic by Agenor, deſired I would ſend a letter, to prevail with you, as you have recalled ſeveral exiles, to receive him again, his father, and brothers. But tho' I ſaid I ſhould appear abſurd and ridiculous, if I aſked things of ſuch moment from perſons, with whom I never ſpoke, nor had any familiarity, they, upon hearing my reply, preſſed me the more eagerly; and when they could obtain nothing of what they hoped, they ſhewed to us all that they were grieved, and bore my denial with great uneaſineſs, Perceiving they grieved more than was convenient, I at length promiſed I would write a letter, and ſend it you: wherefore, that I may not ſeem impertinent and troubleſome, I have this for my apology. I think you have conſulted prudently to return again into friendſhip with your citizens; endeavour to diminiſh the number of exiles, encreaſe that of citizens, and imitate our city in a ſedition: for you ſhew thereby, and make it manifeſt

miſt to all, that you decreed their expulſion, not becauſe you deſired their goods, but that you were apprehenſive for the city: But tho' you had done nothing of this nature, nor received any of the exiles, I judge it would be proper you ſhould reſtore thoſe; for it would be ſhameful to you, that all ſhould allow your city to excel in the art of muſic, that thoſe, who have ſurpaſſed others in it, were born in that city, and that yet he, who excels all artiſts of this kind at preſent, ſhould be baniſhed ſuch a city; when other Grecians make thoſe who are eminent in any reputable ſtudies, tho' they be no-ways related to them, citizens, while you ſuffer thoſe to be ſojourners amongſt foreigners, who are moſt famous amongſt you, and of the ſame blood. And I wonder that many cities more reward ſuch who excel in gymnaſtic games, than thoſe who, by genius and induſtry, find out what is conducive to real happineſs; nor conſider, that the qualities of ſtrength and ſwiftneſs are of ſuch a nature, that they periſh with the body; but that ſciences continue, and are in all times a benefit to thoſe who ſtudy them: which being ſo, it becomes thoſe who are endued with reaſon, to eſteem thoſe moſt, who preſide with juſtice and virtue in their city, and then thoſe who can procure it glory and fame by their knowledge; for all men conſidering ſuch as ſpecimens, judge the reſt of their fellow-citizens reſemble them.

But, perhaps, ſome will ſay, that it becomes thoſe who would obtain any thing, not only to praiſe it, but ſhew, that it is but juſt they ſhould acquire it. The caſe is this: I indeed have abſtained from public offices and harangues, becauſe I neither had a ſufficient voice or boldneſs; but yet I was not quite uſeleſs, or of no value; but it will be evident, that I was a counſellor and abettor to all thoſe who would ſpeak well of you and the other allies; and that I have compoſed more orations for the liberty and rights of the Greeks, than all who have aſcended and almoſt worn out the roſtrum: for which you ought to be in the higheſt degree grateful to me. You deſire particularly ſuch

a ſtate of all Greece; for I judge, that if Timotheus and Conon were now alive, and Diophantes returned from Aſia, they would deſire I ſhould be ſucceſsful in my intentions. But it is not neceſſary I ſhould ſay more on this topic; for there is no one amongſt you ſo young, or forgetful, but he knows you have received the greateſt favours from them: wherefore it ſeems to me you will conſult moſt prudently about this affair, if you conſider who he is that entreats you, and for what perſons; for you will find me to have been the moſt intimate friend to thoſe who were authors of the greateſt good to you and others; and that thoſe, for whom I do entreat you, are neither offenſive to their elders or magiſtrates, and teach an uſeful and pleaſant ſcience to youth, and thoſe who are of a proper age for it. Do not wonder if I am ſo eaſily perſuaded to write a recommendatory letter both for others, and my own particular friends; for I would both gratify my grandchildren, and make it manifeſt to all, that tho' they never meddle with the government, but only imitate my inſtitutes, that they will not be worthleſs citizens. One thing remains; I further deſire, that if you judge proper to do any thing in this kind, you will ſignify to Ægenor, and his brothers, that they obtain, partly by me, what they ſo vehemently wiſh for.

EPISTLE IX.

THE INSCRIPTION.

Iſocrates to Dionyſius.

FORERUNNERS, arm-bearers, heralds, and pompous thrones, are the eclipſe of true philoſophy, and the wideſt ſeparation from virtue. You have not changed with fortune your nature: you have ſtill a ſkin-cloathing; for you was made a mortal in the beginning. Why therefore ſhould a vain-glory ſo far puff up a frail bladder? Unhappy

wretch! you are replete with phrenzy, and are deprived of the knowledge of your own nature. What! have the favours of fortune made you ſo far deſert philoſophic contemplations, as to cauſe you to abandon that ſacred enthuſiaſm? Your condition was formerly illuſtrious; but now it is abject and groveling. The mountain of fortune is high and precipitous; wherefore fly from falſe happineſs, and ſhun fugitive fortune: for thus you will prevent her ingratitude, and not impatiently bear a change.

THE END.

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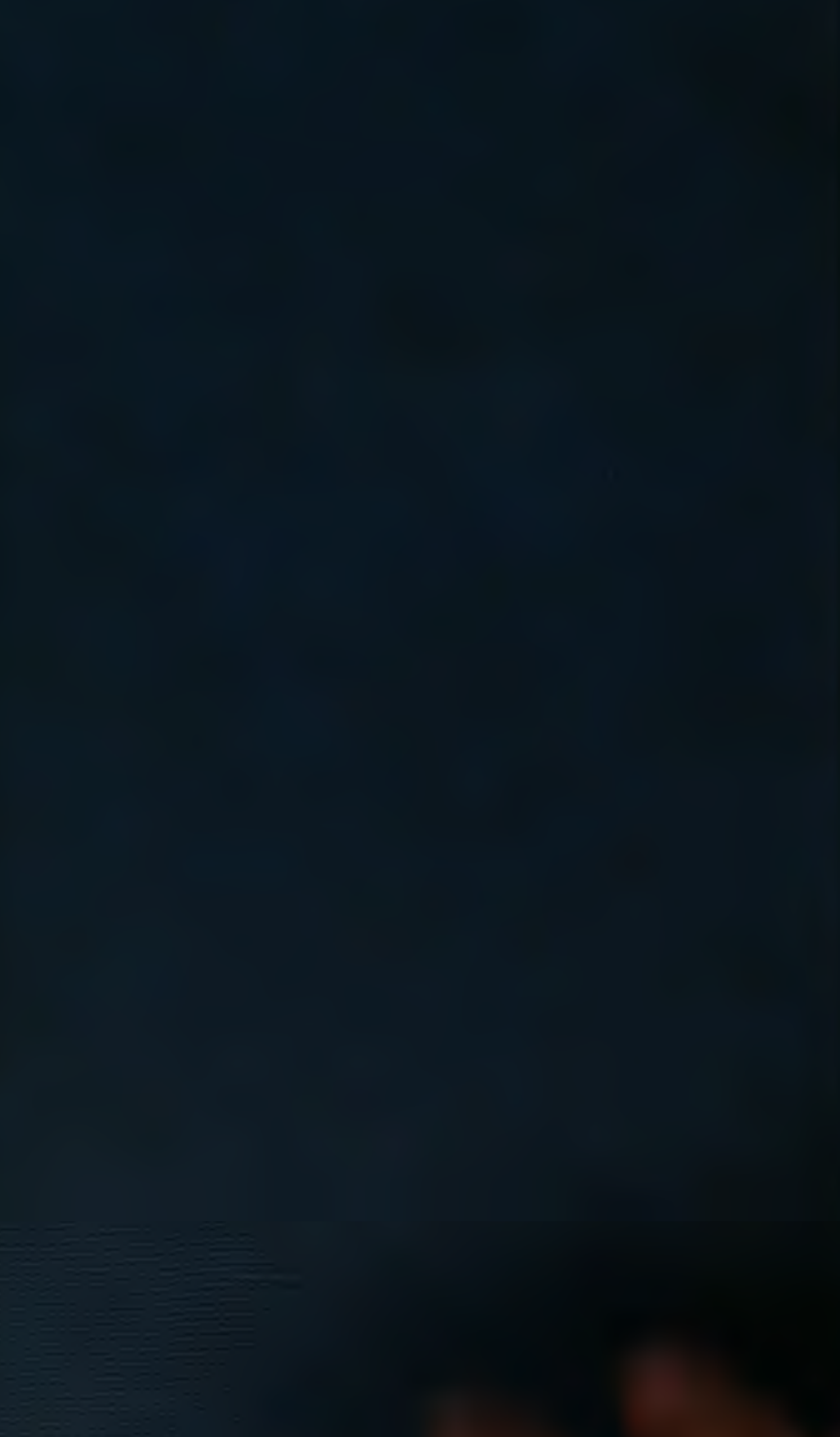
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